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**Education policy: an investigation of the possible paths to decentralisation in Botswana**

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**EDUCATION POLICY: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE POSSIBLE  
PATHS TO DECENTRALISATION  
IN BOTSWANA**

**BY**

**Justice Kelebetse Kgosimotse Gaeonale**

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the

University of Bath

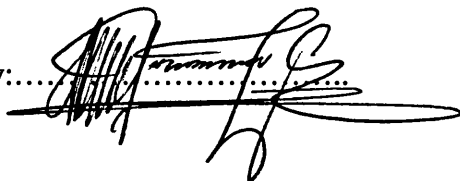
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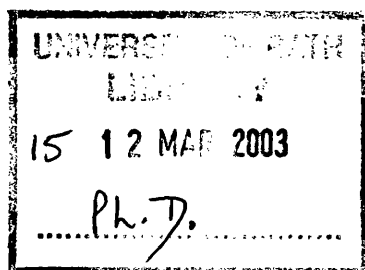
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## **DEDICATION**

To my late father Sekgwalea Thuku who gave me support, courage and love that gave me strength to believe that everything is achievable. **May His Soul Rest In Peace.**

To my lovely children, mother, brothers and sisters for the love they accorded me and their courage to cope with my lengthy absence.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>ADEA</b>	<b>Association for the Development of Education in Africa</b>
<b>BEC</b>	<b>Botswana Examination Council</b>
<b>BoG</b>	<b>Board of Governors</b>
<b>CEO1</b>	<b>Chief Education Officer 1</b>
<b>CEO2</b>	<b>Chief Education Officer 2</b>
<b>CEO3</b>	<b>Chief Education Officer 3</b>
<b>CEO4</b>	<b>Chief Education Officer 4</b>
<b>HqO1</b>	<b>Headquarters Official / Officer 1</b>
<b>HqO2</b>	<b>Headquarters Official / Officer 2</b>
<b>HqO3</b>	<b>Headquarters Official / Officer 3</b>
<b>HqO4</b>	<b>Headquarters Official / Officer 4</b>
<b>HS1</b>	<b>Senior School Head 1</b>
<b>HS2</b>	<b>Senior School Head 2</b>
<b>HJ1</b>	<b>Junior School Head 1</b>
<b>HJ2</b>	<b>Junior School Head 2</b>
<b>MoE</b>	<b>Ministry of Education</b>
<b>MLGLH</b>	<b>Ministry of Local Government Land and Housing</b>
<b>NA</b>	<b>Not Applicable</b>
<b>NDP6</b>	<b>National Development Plan 6</b>
<b>NDP7</b>	<b>National Development Plan 7</b>
<b>NDP8</b>	<b>National Development Plan 8</b>
<b>PJ1</b>	<b>Junior School Parent 1</b>
<b>PS1</b>	<b>Senior School Parent 1</b>
<b>PTA</b>	<b>Parent Teacher Association</b>

**REO      Regional Education Office**

**TJ        Junior School Teacher**

**TS        Senior School Teacher**

## **Abstract**

### **Title: Education Policy: An Investigation of the Possible Paths to Decentralisation in Botswana**

In recent years Botswana has undertaken a limited process of decentralisation of educational decision-making and it is now at a point where further decisions have to be made as to the direction and extent decentralisation should take. In the light of the point that has been reached in educational policy making in Botswana, this thesis has two significant purposes. The first is to seek to provide *policy guidance* to the Botswana government with respect to decentralisation.

The second significant purpose is methodological, as it is concerned with a particular methodological approach to guiding policy in relation to educational decentralisation. Therefore, this study provides an alternative approach to the development of decentralising policies from the 'top down' one size fits all approach that has characterised, for example, World Bank policies in the past.

This study begins by examining the nature and extent of the decentralisation process in the Botswana education system and its sustainability for education administration and management.

The study seeks to develop a methodology centred on interviews with key stakeholders at all levels of the education system. In the first round of interviews the key issues and themes are analysed. From these data, three scenarios of decentralised systems of education are re-



presented to stakeholders for them to comment upon. In general, each scenario provides a different perspective on a series of key issues that arose from the first data round, such as funding, provision, governance, regulation, discipline and human resources (manpower). Scenario one reflects neo-liberal theory; it is the simplest and clearest scenario and as such it provides a stepping stone for stakeholders to think about the other scenarios. It sets the stage for questions that ask stakeholders about the feasibility and desirability of such a scenario (neo-liberal theory) in Botswana and in particular, why education should be left to market forces. Scenario two could be described as a community/market model of decentralisation, which has elements of a more fully decentralised system including aspects of choice, while Scenario three could be considered a state-guided (half-way-house) system. As a result of this process, judgements can be made as to the degree of consensus on the nature and direction of decentralisation and points of conflict can be identified. However, where there is consensus this is judged against the experience of countries that have adopted similar decentralisation paths. Scenario three emerged as the one that had the most consensus and is considered the most feasible. The aim of this research is to illuminate the policy process in Botswana by feeding back to the stakeholders the points of agreement and conflict against the background of international experience. It is intended that this research will clarify the path that Botswana should take with regard to educational decentralisation.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 The Aims of the Thesis and Research Questions

In recent years Botswana has undertaken a limited process of decentralisation of educational decision-making and it is now at a point where further decisions have to be made as to the direction and extent decentralisation should take. In the light of the point that has been reached in educational policy making in Botswana, this thesis has two significant aims. The first is to seek to provide *policy guidance* to the Botswana government with respect to decentralisation. The end product of the research will be either a blueprint which reflects both a consensus amongst key stakeholders who will be interviewed in this study or an identification of where stakeholders disagree on key issues regarding further decentralisation. In this latter case the study can be seen as a way of clarifying what the central issues are that need to be addressed. The researcher is aware that policy-making is a difficult task because policy is clearly a matter of 'authoritative allocation of values, and policies are the operational statements of values that hold the prescriptive intent' (Kogan, 1975: 55). The difficulty emerges when attempting to decide on whose values are to be espoused, and whose are not. The results of this thesis will assist in education policy making in Botswana by closely considering questions of value, while taking into account that the 'authoritative allocation of values has the centrality of power and control in the concept of policy' (Prunty, 1985: 136). In the event of power and control in policy matters, the reality is that, policies cannot be divorced from stakeholders' interests, from conflict, from domination or from social justice (Ball, 1990: 3). Policy making in a modern, complex, plural society is unwieldy (cumbersome or hard to manage) and complex, because there are bound to be

discontinuities, compromises, omissions and exceptions that are of prime importance. It is hoped that this thesis will be able to take these discontinuities into account.

The second significant aim is *methodological*, as it is concerned with a particular methodological approach to guiding policy in relation to educational decentralisation. Therefore, another aspect of this study is to provide an *alternative* approach to the development of decentralising policies from the top down ‘*one size fits all*’ approach that has characterised World Bank efforts in the past.

Issues concerning the question of whether decentralised systems of education are more effective and efficient than decentralisation have been hotly debated as more countries around the world have engaged in elements of decentralisation (Whitty, Power and Halpin, 1998). Winkler (1993) and Weiler (1993) have observed that the principal arguments for centralisation are that it creates financial benefits through scaled economies and the equitable allocation of resources to reduce regional disparities; to offer uniformity in terms of policy and consistency in quality through programmes and activities on matters involving curriculum, examinations, delivery of administrative services; to have central placement of scarce human resources such that skilled human resources are strategically placed at institutions where their impact can reach across the entire educational system; to diffuse innovation, to spread changes more rapidly through the entire system; and to improve teaching and learning through a tightly controlled curriculum policy as a response to the problem of poorly qualified teachers. To some extent this gives an impression that developing countries such as Botswana, newly independent countries and some extremely poor countries could be best served through centralised systems.

In contrast to arguments for centralisation, arguments for decentralisation are based on knowledge about the local conditions. The importance of *local conditions* sets the base for arguments that decentralisation would allow decisions to be made by local actors and local communities and that this is appropriate because local actors know their constituents and areas better than the authorities at the national level. People would have greater chances of participating and involving themselves in shaping the context of their lives (Wolfensohn, 2000: iii).

While there are plausible arguments for both centralisation and decentralisation, policy-making decisions are made more complex because there are different forms of both types of educational system. It can be argued there is no 'pure' system of either centralisation or decentralisation in practice, that all systems are hybrids and that therefore weighing the advantages and disadvantages of decentralisation needs to be undertaken in a recognition of the way elements of both systems are combined. Moreover, each country has its own history and culture, and particular educational problems that it has to address, and that these must be taken into account in educational decision-making. This suggests that instead of the top down approach that has in the recent past characterised much of educational policy making, especially by the World Bank, a different approach is required which takes into account the background history and culture of a country, the educational problems faced by the country as perceived by key stakeholders and their views as to the path that decentralisation should take. In addition these views should be evaluated in the light of assumptions and evidence from theories concerning decentralisation and the experience of other countries. This last point is important because assumptions which hold in one country, may not in another.

For example, as indicated above local knowledge and initiative may be important in countries with highly trained teachers but may prove more problematic in a country like Botswana (see chapter 2 for further / background details of the Botswana context). There is a need, therefore, to have an interplay between the views of key stakeholders and the wider knowledge that theories and evidence from outside the context can give us. Given these general considerations, this thesis asks the following research questions:

### *Research Questions*

- ◆ What are the aims of the educational decentralisation process in Botswana, have they changed over time?
- ◆ How far and in what ways has Botswana progressed with the decentralisation process in the education system?
- ◆ What are the problems / constraints encountered in the decentralisation process?
- ◆ Is there any vision / way forward for overcoming these problems/constraints?
- To what extent is there agreement as to the way forward?
- If there is not agreement on what issues do the fundamental disagreements occur?

It is recognised that these questions all relate to the process of decentralisation, the issue of whether we should return to a more highly centralised system is not really questioned. This has to do with the unique problems encountered by the previously centralised system in Botswana as discussed below which suggests that at least some elements of decentralisation are necessary.

In order to do develop an appropriate method for ascertaining stakeholders' views, a *two-stage* approach was undertaken. In the first, a round of interviews with key

stakeholders in Botswana was conducted. These stakeholders included a top politician and civil servants at the Ministry of Education headquarters (the Permanent Secretary, 2 Directors, one politician (Minister) four Chief Education Officers out of the current five regions (2 rural and 2 urban), two Heads of Senior secondary schools (1 rural and 1 urban), two Heads of Junior secondary schools (1 rural and 1 urban), two teachers of Senior secondary schools (1 rural and 1 urban), two teachers of Junior secondary schools (1 rural and 1 urban), two parent representatives (1 rural senior secondary school and 1 urban junior secondary school). These interviews were analysed with the help of *NVivo* to establish the key themes and issues that the various stakeholders articulated. As a result of identifying these themes and issues three best case scenarios were developed which provided different routes to further decentralisation. They were developed taking into account a critical analysis of what the literature can tell us about the advantages and disadvantages of different types of decentralisation. Each included the key dimensions of governance, funding, provision and accountability, combining them in different ways. The rationale for doing this is that every scenario or set of policies will have a series of trade-offs which will reflect different values (Lauder, 2000; Levin, 2000). The central issue then is which set of trade-offs will best suit the circumstances of Botswana. In order to find out, a second round of interviews was undertaken in which the same stakeholders were asked to comment on the scenarios developed and to state their preference for one over the other with reasons. They were also invited to develop an alternative scenario if they thought that none they were given were appropriate. As a result of this process it could be determined to what degree there was consensus over the future course of decentralisation policy in Botswana and where the key differences of opinion might lie, at least for these stakeholders. It is recognised that views may differ according to the political interests of stakeholders' position within

the present system. There is a considerable literature on the political dimensions to decentralisation and the analysis of differences, such as they are, was undertaken. Hanson (1998) provides a guide to the possibilities for the success of decentralisation policies according to a series of dimensions and this was used to evaluate the prospects for consensus in Botswana. However, consensus does not always mean that the best policy is adopted. It was important therefore, to evaluate the scenario most likely to achieve consensus, if such a scenario existed. If it did not then the value of this research lies in being able to identify the dimensions on which differences exist and some explanation for them for future discussion and debate.

## **1.2 Why has Botswana started down the road to decentralisation?**

Why did Botswana decide to decentralise? Demographically, Botswana is a large and sparsely populated country (582 000 square kilometres) that was only occupied by 700000 people at independence in 1966 (Dixey, 1997: 33). It was easy at the time to operate a centralised education system as it was guided by the four national principles of Democracy, Development, Unity, and Self-reliance as the mission for national interests. Overtime, the population increased to 1.3 million people (Census, 1991). As such, education development has been characterised by a massive expansion of the system as enrolments show that between 1979 and 1991 in primary schools, they rose by 91%, in secondary by 342%, and at the University of Botswana by 315% (Republic of Botswana, 1994: 3). The success of any education system depends largely on teachers, and as such the number of teachers in Botswana was bound to increase. In 1991, there were 9704 primary school teachers, 2202 junior secondary teachers, and 1231 senior secondary teachers, making a total of 13362 (Republic of Botswana, 1994: 4).

The combination of a geographically dispersed system coupled with one which has been expanding rapidly has given impetus to thinking about policies concerning decentralisation since these factors have posed problems of effective administration and management. In particular problems of communication with teachers in the field, lack of cross-stakeholder involvement, equity and performance outcomes have been identified (Republic of Botswana, 1994: 4). This, then, may partly answer the question of why the country had to consider decentralisation of the education system as an alternative.

However, we need to place these changes towards decentralisation into the wider context of the significance of education to the country. Since independence, Botswana has made great strides in her efforts to reform the education system to suit national principles, popular demands and cope with the global standards and expectations. The combination of the national principles of Democracy, Development, Unity and Self Reliance has pillared the progress of education reforms and produced the national philosophy of KAGISANO (social harmony) which also embraced concepts of social justice, interdependence and mutual assistance (self-reliance) (Republic of Botswana, 1977: 24). These principles emerged as a result of the first national commission on education (NCE) report which was commissioned by the government in 1975 to review the whole education system and put forward recommendations for the development of education. It then follows that any educational reform had to be in-tune with the national principles. As Tabulawa (1998) has noted:

The 1977 commission on education clearly contended that any features of the education system (structure, provision, organisation, administration and management) that appear to impair the realisation of these principles had to be changed, and it is now government's commitment to infuse these principles in all its developmental projects (p.4).

Education in Botswana was believed to have a pivotal role in the promotion of the national principles. It is this massive commitment, and the pivotal role that has stemmed from it that has driven education reform, governance and new management principles.

To facilitate Botswana's strides in education reform, and map the system to the recent reforms, the President appointed a commission on education in April 1992. Basically, the commission was to review the current education system and to identify problems and strategies for its further development in the context of the first education policy (Government Paper No. 1 of 1977) and the changing economy. The commission submitted its report in July 1993 and this led to a national policy on education adopted in Government Paper No.2 of 1994. Some of the overall objectives of the national policy were geared to: raise educational standard at all levels; improve partnerships between schools and communities in the development of education; provide life-long education to all sections of the population; and, assume more effective control of the examination mechanism in order to ensure that the broad objectives of the curriculum were realised (Republic of Botswana, 1994: 5). With these objectives defined, the question remains as to what kind of educational system would best serve the guiding principles articulated.



Here the issue is one of whether such a system should build on the earlier desire for decentralisation as the Republic of Botswana (1985) indicated that:

During the National Development Plan 6 (NDP6), there will be moves to decentralise, as much as possible, day-to-day executive responsibilities to district level. This is emphasising the co-ordination of the personnel, effective use of physical facilities for educational purposes and quicker responses to problems of educational institutions. This was targeted to bring the more professional and administrative support services to a closer touch with the district, and in a way help resolve some of the long distance management problems (p.125).

Clearly as indicated above and in what follows the intention to proceed with decentralisation and the motives for it had been signalled for some time, as it was further suggested by Republic of Botswana (1991) that:

During the NDP6, the administrative responsibilities of the Ministry of Education continue to grow rapidly and this heightened the need for the Ministry of Education to decentralise its operations to the district level. It is further mentioned that, presently only departments of primary, teacher, non-formal and secondary education have achieved some degree of decentralisation, and that the decentralisation has proceeded with little reference to the activities of other departments in the districts (p. 334).

At the school level (Republic of Botswana, 1994:6) some of the specific aims of decentralisation were assumed to be: improve management and administration to ensure higher learning achievement; improve quality of instruction; implement broader and balanced curricula geared towards developing the qualities and skills needed for the world of work; and improve the response of the schools to the needs of different ethnic groups in the society. Similar views about the education system were also expressed in

the Republic of Botswana (1997) report, which claimed that it had failed to fulfil national requirements because:

Its management and support services have not kept up with its growth to the point that it is becoming increasingly difficult to continue managing it from the centre. In order to give the educational system the professional support services and management necessary for quality education, the system has to be decentralised in a holistic manner that will reflect and keep up with its growth and complexity. Comprehensive decentralisation will avoid duplication of resources by different departments, as has been the case in the past. It will encourage more professional interaction across departments and ensure prompt support and resolutions of issues as and when they arise (p.356).

If the schools are to achieve these aims, what do schools need to succeed? What type of decentralised system can best promote greater achievement? If schools do not progress as required, what might be the causes of such barriers?

If the impetus for decentralisation has been longstanding in Botswana then it has been given greater legitimacy, at least at a general level, by the ideology of the multilateral agencies such as the IMF and World Bank. These agencies have in the past, linked decentralisation to parental choice, increased emphasis on community involvement in schools, and quality improvement through enhancement of sound professional expertise and equitable distribution of resources. The policy initiatives proposed by these agencies have often suggested the introduction of 'market elements' into education, and further propose privatising of schools, and handing over decisions to individuals and families that were previously a matter of public policy (Whitty, et al. 1998: 3). The comprehensive development framework from the World Bank advocated more globalisation and localisation. Globalisation was praised for bringing new opportunities

for expanded markets and the spread of technology and management expertise that promised greater productivity and higher standards of living. Localisation was thought to raise levels of participation and involvement, and greater opportunities for people to shape the context of their lives (Wolfensohn, 2000: iii). It is however, important to know if such strong claims could succeed when applied to the Botswana education system.

Since Botswana has engaged in educational reform, it is evident problems have emerged. Looking at the advantages that centralisation held for the education system and what decentralisation promises to have created a vacuum as to which way the education system should now progress. Global pressures and technical changes have given the government the impetus to further reform the education system towards decentralisation. Due to such challenges, the key issue for education policy making is to establish the best model of education management / administration that will serve the country strategically within its context.

### **1.3 The organisational structure of the thesis**

This section presents the outline of the structure of the thesis to guide the reader through the chapters that comprise it. Chapter 2 commences by presenting the background to education decentralisation policy in Botswana by setting out the basis for understanding why the country decided to move towards decentralisation reform when centralisation seem to have served the country so well. Since the inception of such reforms, it is important to highlight the historical background that will include the demographics, economic and political climate as they relate to education development. The chapter will further highlight the nature of the decentralisation reforms and the new

administrative structures in the Botswana education system to establish the link between the background and the emergence of new strategies.

Chapter 3 provides a lengthy theoretical examination of various aspects, relevant to this thesis, of what is an extensive literature on decentralisation. It examines different understandings of the notion of decentralisation when compared to related concepts like devolution, and it examines relevant theories to establish a theoretical framework for the study by critically looking at the key concepts and generalisations that are taken on board to underpin arguments for the decentralisation of educational management / administration. Having examined the broad assumptions underlying decentralisation, neo-liberal theory as a particularly clear example of how some of these broad assumptions are combined is described and criticised. This theory also provides a good illustration of the trade-offs and values involved. This is followed by an examination of related World Bank views on educational reform. Having looked at the theoretical literature on decentralisation, a review of case studies of decentralisation in various African countries is undertaken. This view crystallises how different models of decentralisation have been adopted in the African context. Aspects of funding, provision, governance, regulation, discipline and manpower are discussed. Finally this chapter reviews Hanson's model of decentralisation since it enables us to judge theoretically the degree of consensus in Botswana, as established by the research in this thesis.

In Chapter 4, the methodology of the research study will be outlined explaining why the study settled for a qualitative approach. The various research methods/instruments used will be described in detail, highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of such

instruments. The phases of research used in this thesis will be described and justified in greater detail.

In Chapter 5, the findings of the first round of interviews with the key stakeholders will be presented in order to establish the major themes and issues they identify as of concern in Botswana. Some of the major themes that emerge from an analysis of the data provide the basis for the development of the three scenarios of decentralisation. These scenarios were later taken back to these stakeholders who were asked to comment on them.

Chapter 6 presents the scenarios and reports on the analysis of the scenario data. The analysis focuses on the kind of scenario stakeholders regard as most desirable (the ideal) and most feasible (the practical). The data are analysed to see to what extent there is consensus and at what points there is conflict over the most desirable and feasible scenario(s). Further analysis is undertaken to see whether stakeholders' views correspond to their structural positions within the education hierarchy. For example, a market based model may be seen as desirable to senior policy makers because they may see this as a mechanism for devolving responsibility but not devolving power to schools (see chapter 3), while teachers may see such a move as against their interests because the security of their jobs is more likely to be determined by external measures of performance.

Finally, Chapter 7 provides conclusions and recommendations that evaluate the results of this study and the alternative methodology it employs. In examining these outcomes

it also raises a question about the utility and significance of comparative studies of decentralisation elsewhere as a guide to policy in Botswana.

## **CHAPTER 2: The BACKGROUND TO EDUCATION DECENTRALISATION POLICIES IN BOTSWANA**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This study comes at the time when Botswana has experienced sizeable socio-economic development and achievements since independence. This chapter presents a brief background by offering snap-shots of the demography, political climate, economic and educational developments relevant to this study.

### **2.2 Demographic background**

Botswana lies on the Southern African Plateau at a mean altitude of approximately 1000 meters above sea level (Kgomanyane, 1995, 118). The country is landlocked, as it shares borders with South Africa, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe (see appendix 1). The total land area is large, approximated at 582 000 square kilometres, which is equivalent to the land size of France.

The majority still live in rural areas, though there are fast growing urban settlements that are mainly along the eastern side of the country. The urban population is estimated to have grown from 17.7 per cent in 1981 to 33 per cent in 1991 due to rural-urban migration resulting from growth in modern sector employment in towns (Kgomanyane, 1995: 118). The people are predominantly Setswana-speaking but there are other significant minority groups who speak a local language in addition to Setswana, and there are some people of European and Asian origin. But Setswana and English are the official languages. However, language is not used as a determinant for admission to schools.

At independence in 1966, Botswana was only occupied by approximately 700 000 people (Dixey, 1997: 33). The population has since then been growing at an average of 3.4 per cent a year and reached 1.3 million by 1991 (Census, 1991; Kgomanyane, 1995: 118). The recent 2001 Population Census shows that Botswana population now stands at an approximation of 1.7 million people (Census, 2001). This would imply increasing demand for education provision, schools, teachers, resources and good governance.

### **2.3 The political climate/conditions**

Apart from the problems arising from the demographic conditions, Botswana's pre-independence and early post-independence history was linked to political hostilities from the neighbouring countries due to the vagaries of liberation wars. The liberation struggles in the neighbouring countries impeded Botswana's political development due to cross-border problems, and in a few extreme cases cross-border bombings and shootings. Such political instability interfered with the country's educational development plans including reforms, because refugee children had to be absorbed into the system.

Botswana has a long history of teacher and skilled labour shortages, but the violent period of political tensions and instability in the southern cone deterred teacher recruitment and training. The country relied more on expatriates and, as such, recruitment from abroad and deployment of teachers was, and still is, centrally controlled (Kgomanyane, 1995: 118). The dependency on South Africa as source / supplier of educational resources was never smooth, hence, another reason for centralisation in Botswana education system.



Despite the political instability in southern Africa in the past five decades, Botswana has managed to move forward with a stable political environment. Since independence, Botswana has maintained a multiparty democracy that has facilitated a host of developments including in the education sector. In terms of power, the constitution provides for a unicameral elected legislature, the National Assembly, and a House of Chiefs. The House of Chiefs has no legislative powers, but has a role to advise on matters related to custom and tradition. There are nine district councils, three town councils, and two city councils with elected members. These councils are responsible for primary education, as they are expected to provide classrooms, teacher housing, school books, and equipment while the central government, through the Ministry of Education, is responsible for supplying teachers, developing the curriculum, and overall professional supervision of schools (Kgomanyane, 1995: 119). Government is also responsible for secondary school education. Schools are allowed to elect Board members and Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs).

The government White Paper of 1977 (National Policy on Education) set goals for the education system, which were arrived at after wide-ranging democratic consultation among major sectors of society and key stakeholders in education by the National Commission on Education. The policy articulated four national principles of democracy, development, self-reliance, and unity as the aims of education that were together expected to lead to social harmony (Kagisano). In pursuit of these aims the education system moved swiftly towards universal access for nine years of basic education (7 years primary and 2 years junior secondary) of sound quality designed to eliminate inequalities of educational opportunities, and to meet the labour force needs of the economy (Kgomanyane, 1995: 119). Political debates over this policy centred

around issues such as access and equity, quality, relevance, and the balance between academic and vocational education. Such debates led to the abolition of school fees for primary schools in 1980, and for secondary schools in 1988 to remove access barriers. The government then assumed greater responsibility for the development and recurrent expenditure of community-managed junior-secondary schools to ensure that they were provided with adequate facilities to discharge their function.

However, it should be noted that there is a tension between the government assuming responsibilities for communities as a response to political demands and the national principle of self-reliance, one that could be addressed by decentralisation.

## **2.4 Economic growth**

The Bechuanaland Protectorate Era (1885-1965) which was the pre-independence period under the British Crown did not produce economic growth. The proclamation of the protectorate was not to develop the country, but a strategic move by the Imperial regime to block the Boer intervention to the north of the Molopo River (Brian, 1970: 208; Moorad, 1993: 35). The British High Commissioner, who happened to be Governor of the Cape Colony, and of British Bechuanaland, categorically declared no interest in the country north of Molopo (Botswana) except as a road to the interior of Africa, and therefore efforts were confined to preventing the Botswana territory being occupied by foreign powers (Brian, 1970: 208; Walters, 1973: 73; Moorad, 1993: 33; Colclough and McCarthy, 1980: 12). Such administrative neglect impeded all chances of rapid economic growth and educational development. The small education provision, such as it was, was the responsibility of interested communities and churches (mission schools).

It was, therefore, not surprising at independence in 1966 that Botswana was said to be among the 25 poorest countries in the world and one of the poorest countries in Africa. The Botswana economy depended substantially on arable and livestock farming. The rain fed arable agriculture, which was the main source of economic activity for the majority of the people, is characterised by unreliable climatic conditions often leading to crop failure (Monkge, 2001: 1). Botswana's beef production was the mainstay of the economy in terms of output and export earnings, as it counted for about 40% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Kgomanyane, 1995: 118). The size of the national herd has always been estimated to outnumber the population of the people in the country.

But, the severe drought of the 1980s caused a considerable decline in the agricultural contribution to the gross domestic product. Despite these difficulties, the agricultural sector is still regarded as an important sector for providing the majority of the people with food, income, employment, and even capital, and as such agricultural education development and training continue to enjoy increasing attention in all forms of educational reforms and innovations.

Notably, Botswana experienced rapid economic growth during the post-independence period as a result of revenues accrued from minerals such as diamonds. The discovery of minerals dramatically transformed the country from a predominantly cattle and rural based economy, dependent on foreign aid, to a financially strong middle-ranking country (Monkge, 2001: 2), with an average economic growth rate of 12.9% per annum. The latest estimates indicates that, during 2000/2001, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) increased by 13.8%, and that the improved performance of the economy during

2000/2001 was a consequence of a very high real growth rate of 19.6% in the mining sector compared to 12.1% in 1999/2000 (Gaolathe, 2002: 8). The Ministry of Education now has a recurrent budget of P3.19 billion (P is pula for Botswana national currency), which is the largest share representing 28% of public expenditure (Gaolathe, 2002: 33). Economic growth enabled a massive expansion of educational facilities at all levels in order to meet the growing demand for a trained workforce.

## **2.5 The Development of the Botswana education system**

The development of the Botswana education system has always been targeted to serve different purposes at different times in its history. During the pre-protectorate period, Botswana provided a traditional education through *Bojale* (adolescent initiation school for females) and *Bogwera* (adolescent initiation school for males). The traditional education was a form of socialising children into the accepted values and norms of society and preparing them for their adult roles in the future (Moorad, 1993: 32). *Bojale* offered a formal instruction in matters concerning womanhood, domestic and agricultural activities, sex and behaviour towards men (Schapera, 1934: 22). *Bogwera* offered boys opportunities to learn special skills such as hunting, tending livestock, making shields and spears, and at the end they would undergo a circumcision ceremony. This traditional education was based on various community needs and community involvement in its provision and management. In view of this information, community involvement implied by some views of decentralisation would not be new to education in Botswana. The deliberations on what is most needed and participation at the Kgotla is another form of community involvement

When Botswana was declared a British 'Protectorate' in 1885, the British, as we have seen, did very little to improve the social and economic infrastructure in the country, thereby crippling any form of educational development. Education was used as a means of domestication and subjugation (Freire, 1990; Omolewa, 1993). Education was mainly sponsored by churches, which strongly controlled the curriculum and its content, emphasising obedience and discipline (Maruatona, 1996: 50). However, the school philosophy of the Christian faith which was meant to subordinate instead produced citizens who acted on their own histories and realities (Apple, 1985). They demanded the withdrawal of the colonial administration and independence.

Since independence in 1966, the Botswana government has constituted two education commissions in 1976 and 1992 that resulted in two white papers spelling out its commitment to provide education at various levels. The Government Paper No. 1 of 1977 was used to form the basis for education in post-colonial Botswana (Republic of Botswana, 1977: 2), through a clear outline of principal issues of concern, guiding the education system's development programme and implementation. Some of the substantive areas addressed were approaches to maximising cost-effectiveness and the ability to finance educational development, and organisational structure and administrative procedures to facilitate successful implementation of programmes and proposed reforms (Republic of Botswana, 1977: 4). The principle of democracy implied that those closely affected by national or local policies should participate in their formulation by taking decisions about the operation of the education system. It was to be given further expression through the establishment of boards of governors for secondary schools and the operation of parents teacher associations (Republic of Botswana, 1977: 187). Parliament and local councils were responsible for broad

education policy and major decisions, while execution of policy was often left to the administrators.

The products of the commission did not meet the full expectations of both government and the people and there were complaints about the education system (Maruatona, 1996: 51). As a result the 1992 commission produced the *1993 Report of the National Commission on Education*. The product of the report was the Government White Paper No.2 of 1994 (the Revised National Policy on Education). The White Paper No.2 of 1994 emphasised a continuation of the decentralisation process in the Ministry of Education such that senior officers would be placed in the field to enable effective decision making at local levels. The question here was: what form would decentralisation take? Would it mean a further establishment of mini-ministries in regions, which would perpetuate the top-down bureaucracy? The policy further emphasised community participation in development and management of education through boards of governors, PTAs (Parent Teacher Associations) and other relevant bodies in the community (Republic of Botswana, 1994: 11). On finance, the policy pointed to education as the recipient of the largest proportion of the recurrent budget, and thereby emphasising cost-effectiveness and cost sharing for future educational financing. However, the Botswana government was to continue with the obligation to provide free basic (primary and junior secondary) education, but beyond this level beneficiaries would be expected to contribute in varying degrees to the cost of their education and training. Students who were unable to pay fees were to get bursaries awards.

The structure of the Botswana education system was recommended to transform from 7 years (primary), 3 years (junior secondary) and 2 years (senior secondary) (7-3-2) to a 6-3-3 system as suggested by the National Policy on Education of 1977, while the duration of University (3 years diploma and four years degree courses) was left unchanged (Republic of Botswana, 1994: 6). The new structure comprising the first 9 years of basic education (primary and junior secondary education) was to be available to all children. The 7-2-3 system was introduced in 1988 in preparation for a transition to a 6-3-3-education structure. But the proposed change from a 7-2-3 to a 6-3-3 system has not taken place yet, and may never, as government has already accepted that there are considerable organisational difficulties to be encountered in changing to a 6-3-3 structure of education (Republic of Botswana, 1994: 7). As a result the 7-3-2 system was deemed organisationally easier, and assumed it would solve many educational problems by improving the basic quality of education whilst maintaining the present level of access. Hence, the 7-3-2 system was re-introduced. Presently pre-primary education is provided mainly by private individuals and organisations through the Day Care Programme where access is limited to about 7% of the population age of 3-6 years (Republic of Botswana, 1994: 7). However, government is currently developing Early Childhood Care and Education policy to improve the quality of education and child development (Gaolathe, 2002: 28).

The development of the Botswana education system reflects a high expansion rate coupled with administrative problems. According to Mautle (1983: 12), the first formal school in Botswana was established in 1844. But, since 1966 independence there has been a remarkable expansion in education. The Education Statistics of 1993 shows that there are 657 primary schools, 183 secondary schools and six teacher education

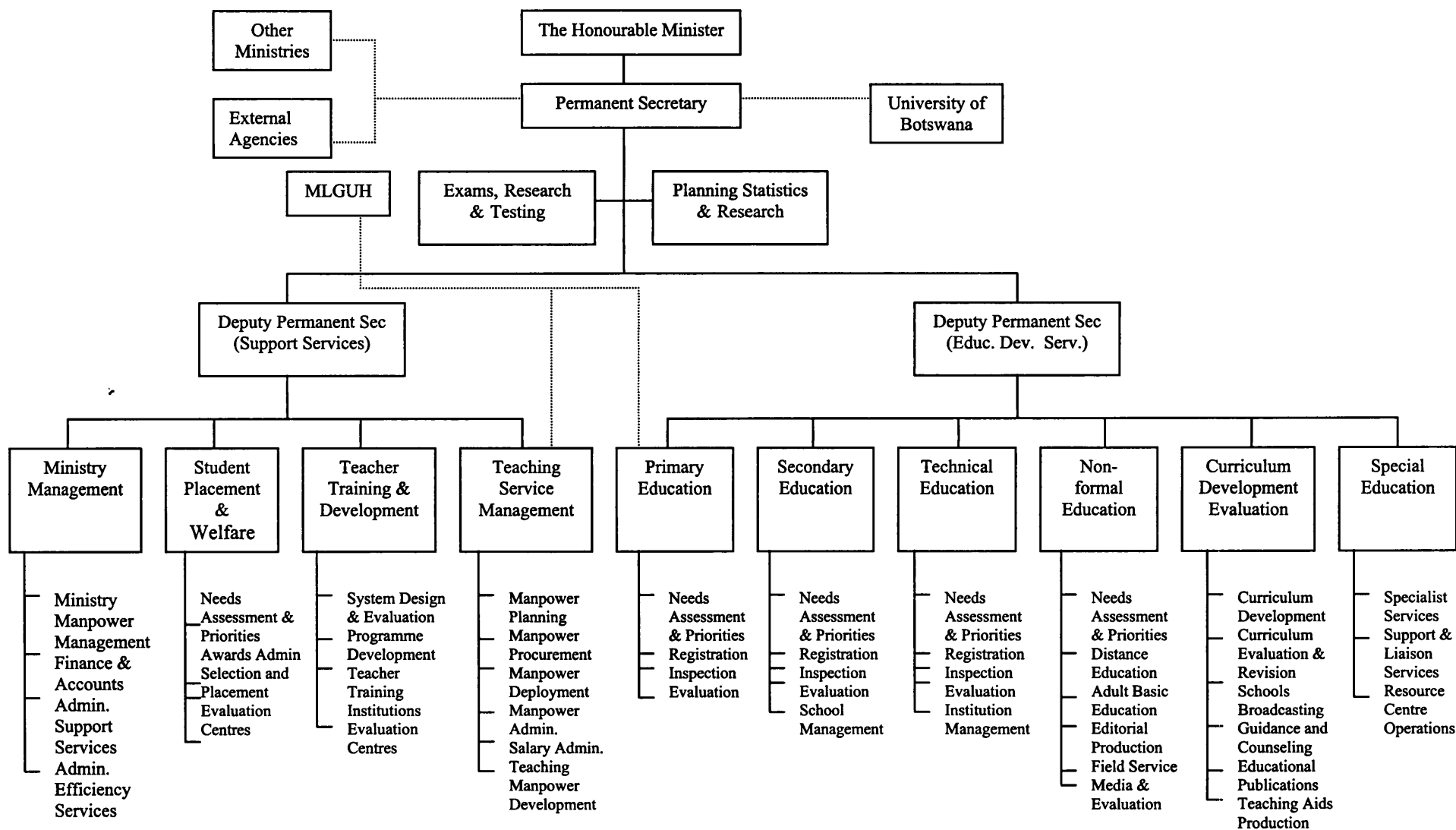
Institutions. There was an increase in enrolment during the 1983-93 decade that showed increases of 55.6% and 270% in primary and secondary respectively (Sechele and Konnespillai, 1996: 87). The increase in enrolment meant increases in the number of schools/institutions, which have all posed management problems. What remains to be determined is whether decentralisation reforms will help the education system overcome such problems.

## **2.6 The new administrative structures**

The structure of the Ministry of Education shows that at the apex of the administrative structure is the Permanent Secretary and two Deputy Permanent Secretaries (support services and education development services), who are supported by the heads of departments with designations such as Directors or Chief Education Officers, depending on whether the main function of the department is professional or managerial (Kgomanyane, 1995: 123). See Figure: 2.1. Primary education has long had a field-based support team of professionals performing multiple roles of supervising, advising, inspecting, and liaising with councils and district education secretaries. Secondary education has recently started decentralising some professional services, and a skeleton staff of field-based senior officers has been deployed in the districts to provide professional support and supervision.



**Figure 2.1: Structure of the Ministry of Education** (Source: Republic of Botswana-NDP8: 1997: 341)



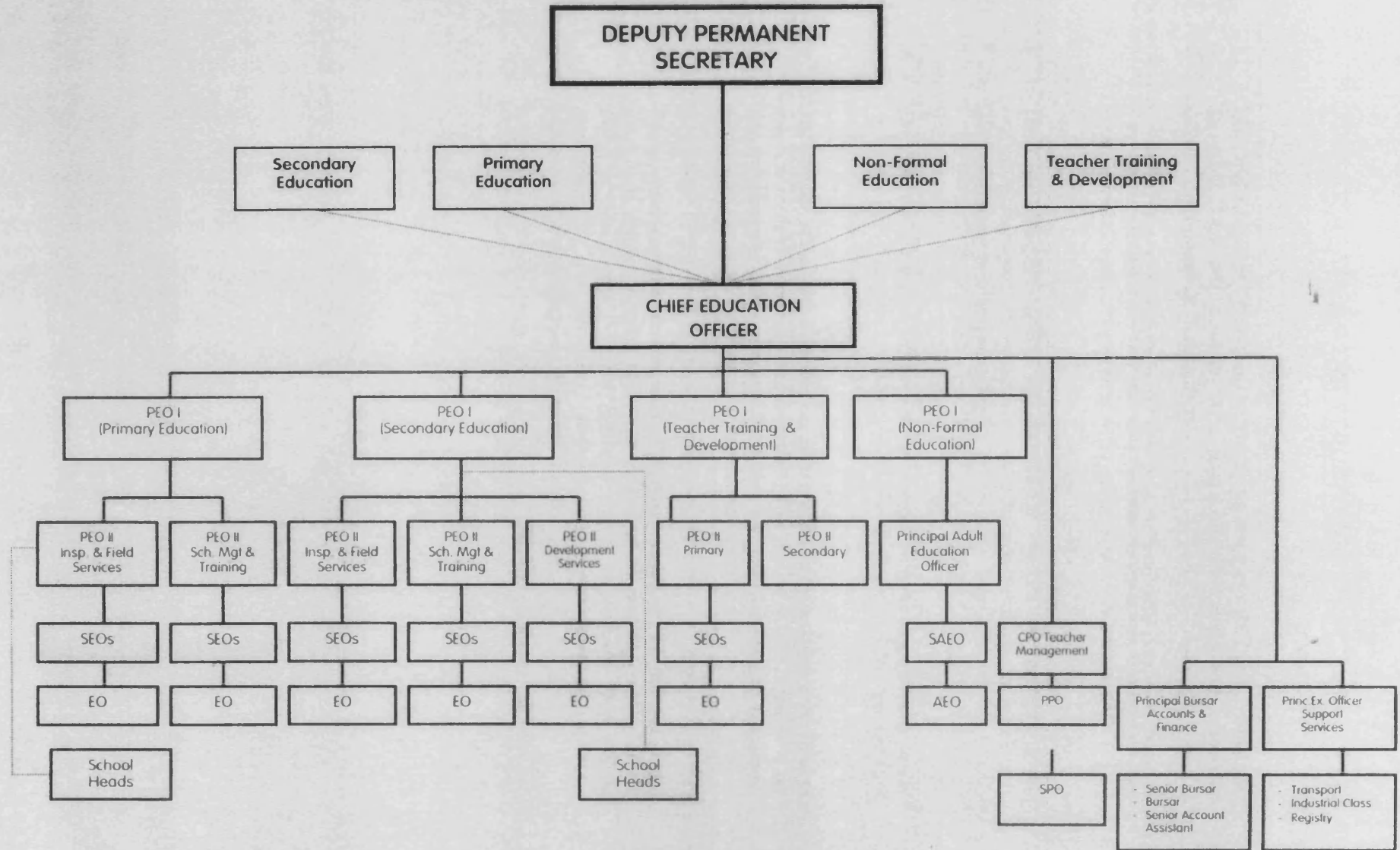
The country is to be divided into six regional education areas under the overall supervision of the Chief Education Officer (Republic of Botswana, 1997: 341). The Education Department's Headquarters' responsibilities include policy formulation and direction, budgetary consolidation and monitoring of policy implementation. The departments that are decentralised are to be re-aligned in future to fall within the six regional areas.

In addition to the existing structure, there has been a recent proposal for a Unitary Regional Structure in the Ministry of Education to improve and support the decentralisation process. The Unitary Regional Structure is a proposal that arose from a 16<sup>th</sup> March, 2000 Committee Report, proposing to unite regional departments together and reduce duplication of duties and roles within the existing regions. It is assumed that the proposed unitary regional structure may assist to (Republic of Botswana, 2000: 1):

- ❖ promote collegiality and professional recognition of all the professional staff in the four departments that include Primary, Secondary, Non-formal, and Teacher Training and Development;
- ❖ create career progression of the professional staff of the four departments based on merit not on departmental affiliation;
- ❖ integrate all the four departments currently represented in the regions thereby eliminating demarcations and ensuring efficient and effective utilisation of resources.

At the top of the Unitary Regional Structure is the Deputy Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Education Headquarters, supported by four Directors of the unitary departments (see the figure 2.2 below). The Chief Education Officers staff the regional offices supported by Principal Officers, followed by School Heads, Senior Education Officers and Personnel Officers, and Junior Officers.

# MINISTRY OF EDUCATION - PROPOSED UNITARY REGIONAL STRUCTURE



The unitary regional structure has the following roles and responsibilities (Republic of Botswana, (2000: 2):

- The Chief Education Officers are directly supervised by the Deputy Permanent Secretary, and will have functional relationship with respective relevant departments at headquarters.
- Directors at headquarters will deal with national policy issues relating to policy formulation and overall planning of their respective national programmes.
- The Chief Education Officer will be charged with the responsibility of co-ordination and supervision of the execution of the ministerial education objectives and programmes in a designated region.
- The Principal Education Officer will be charged with the responsibility of co-ordinating and supervising the inspectorate, the management and training teams in respective areas of specialisation.
- The Teacher Management Section has been reinforced by combining the hitherto separate sections in primary and secondary. This section will be responsible for general personnel administration of teachers such as procurement and placement, salary administration, teaching manpower-planning etc.
- The separate common services units of primary, secondary, teacher training and development and department of non-formal education have been pooled together under the co-ordination and supervision of the Principal Bursar and Principal Executive Officer respectively. They will be responsible for the personnel administration, procurement of resources, management and maintenance of industrial class.

This structure seems to exclude other important stakeholders such as community representatives (Boards and PTAs), teacher representatives/unions, and school management structures which are quite crucial in the education decentralisation process.

The proposed unitary structure appears to be an extension of the central (headquarters) arm to exercise more power by gripping on to education establishments that are far from the centre. Officers in the structure are civil servants who are expected to follow the prescribed modes of operations set by the central office, thereby establishing mini-ministries.

How is authority distributed within the new structures? It would seem obvious that the distribution of authority within the new structure would certainly follow the top-down one size-fits-all bureaucracy that would conform to and facilitate the current decision making powers. The regional offices seem to be established to gather data for the headquarters, with most of the power still resting with the Ministry.

## **2.7 The problems with decentralisation in Botswana to-date**

According to the information above, there are several possible concerns that can be initially identified as a result of the decentralisation process so far. The first concerns the lack of personnel with technical, professional and managerial skills. The development of appropriate manpower strategies which were supposed to be a key element in decentralisation process may not have been adequately thought through.

The second concerns the identification and role of key stakeholders in decentralisation, in order that a wider range of the population could be involved in education. However, given the above structures to-date stakeholders beyond the Ministry such as head teachers, teachers, students, parents or employers have not been drawn into the process. The question is what role if any could or should they have?

Relatedly, in terms of the national principle of democracy, decentralisation was meant to benefit local communities by empowering through participation and involvement in educational matters either by means of representation (Boards and PTAs) or by the democratic political empowerment of individuals. Communities and schools were supposed to benefit from the localisation process, as services were to come closer and

nearer to the people. But there seems to be conflicting policies as central government is the main provider of education.

## **2.8 Summary**

Sound economic growth and political stability has enabled Botswana to engage in rapid economic development. However, the country is now at a cross-roads in terms of the nature and direction of educational decentralisation. In order to assess the direction that such decentralisation might now take it is first important to examine the literature on decentralisation. This is a growing but complex literature that is the topic for discussion in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter will review the literature in relation to decentralisation. In the first section, the key concepts and distinctions will be discussed and the broad theoretical advantages and disadvantages set out. This is followed by an examination of the broad assumptions underlying decentralisation. Most forms of decentralisation, as they have been developed around the globe, are ‘hybrids’ in that they contain elements of both centralisation and decentralisation. It is for this reason that the broad underlying assumptions are first discussed before looking at what may be regarded as the most ‘pure’ form of decentralisation as expressed in neo-liberal theory. This theory is described so that the links between its basic assumptions can be seen. However, a critique of this theory enables us to examine a key concept in this thesis, that of trade-offs. There are clear trade-offs that can be identified between, for example, individual freedom for some and equity and social solidarity. In these ways neo-liberal theory acts as an exemplar that can be used to raise some of the important issues when examining ‘real world’ cases of decentralisation. The chapter then looks at the World Bank’s view of decentralisation because during the 1990’s it was seen as a prime advocate for neo-liberal theory. However, it also has taken a much wider political view of decentralisation in developing countries, which places education decentralisation into context. Finally, with this background knowledge focus is turned to the conceptual developments needed for the empirical part of this thesis. Here the key modalities in decentralisation, finance, provision, accountability and regulation are discussed. This is followed by a review of ‘real world’ African examples of decentralisation to emphasise

how different countries have made choices through trade-offs in combining elements of centralisation and decentralisation.

The outcomes of all educational policies are uncertain and in the case of Botswana this is also true. Therefore, some way of judging, from the empirical evidence gathered, the prospects for the next phase of decentralisation in Botswana and the conditions for its success was needed. Hanson's (1998) paper was particularly helpful in this respect. This literature review will provide the basic conceptual tools for analysing the first round of data collection (see the next chapter) and in particular will help in developing the three scenarios of decentralisation that will form the basis for the second round of data gathering.

### **3.2 Centralisation and decentralisation in educational systems: some preliminary concepts and distinctions.**

Decentralisation reforms have become highly attractive, particularly in a world where most governments have experienced the pitfalls of centralised education service provision, mainly due to opaque decision-making, administrative and fiscal inefficiency, and poor quality of education and access to services (World Bank, 2000b: 1). In general, the substantive bases behind the process of decentralisation are that: it can improve efficiency, quality, transparency and accountability, and it can encourage participation and responsiveness of service provision compared to centralised systems (Green, 1997b: 106; World Bank, 2000b: 1; McGinn and Welsh, 1999: 28). Policy-makers often look overseas for solutions to domestic problems in the naïve belief that policies designed in one context can be unproblematically transported elsewhere (Whitty et al., 1998: 31), expecting 'one size to fit all'. But the process is more likely to



fail due to decontextualisation, especially in developing countries, where decentralisation models are often exported from one country to another regardless of political traditions, regularity frameworks, or property rights (World Bank, 2000a: 107). Botswana is likely to have similar results if principles of decentralisation from other contexts are adopted with no or little consideration to their practicality.

### **3.3 Definition of terms**

This section notes and clarifies some possible meanings of the terms to be used in this study.

#### **3.3.1 Decentralisation**

Bray (1999: 208) defines decentralisation by distinguishing two dimensions that decentralisation may take: functional and territorial. Functional decentralisation refers to a shift in distribution of powers between various authorities that operate in parallel, such as a split in a Ministry of Education into Ministries of basic and higher education; the creation of a separate examination authority; and a loosening of government control on voluntary-agency schools. Territorial decentralisation refers to the transfer of power from higher to lower levels. This may be in categories of deconcentration, delegation, devolution or even privatisation (Bray, 1999: 209). The two definitions imply a shift in distribution of powers between authorities (parallel), and transfer of power (control) from higher to lower levels (top-down / hierarchical).

Hanson (1998:112) identifies three forms that decentralisation may take in a similar way to that mentioned by Bray (1999: 208) as: *deconcentration*, which typically involves the transfer of *tasks* and *work* but not *authority*, to other units of the

organisation; *delegation*, which involves the transfer of *decision-making authority* from *higher* to *lower hierarchical units*, but that authority can be withdrawn at the discretion of the delegating unit; and *devolution*, which refers to the transfer of *authority* to an *autonomous unit* that can act independently, or a unit that can act without first asking permission. Rondinelli (1990 cited in Hanson, 1998: 113) argues that *privatisation* is a form of *devolution* as responsibility and resources are transferred from public to private sector institutions.

McGinn and Welsh (1999: 19) further mention that: the term ‘decentralisation’ implies dispersal of something aggregated or concentrated around a single point, by using a common metaphor of the pyramid (conventional top-down), and / or an alternative octopus form, which has a large central body and arms or tentacles, where most work is done by units and the centre makes all decisions (parallel).

### **3.4 Centralisation and decentralisation**

According to Hess (1993):

The last two decades of the twentieth century have seen extraordinary interest in public education, both in the United States and in countries around the world. Two competing themes have been present in many of the efforts to change public schooling: greater centralisation and greater decentralisation. Not infrequently, these two themes have both been advanced at the same time (p.66)

Comparative studies confirm this view. While some countries can be considered to be more centralised like France, Germany, Japan, Sweden, (although in the German case it is more proper to talk about centralisation at the regional level), others are considered to be further down the decentralised end of the spectrum such as the United Kingdom and

the United States (Green, 1997a: 284). New Zealand also embarked on some forms of decentralised educational management (The Picot Report, 1988: 41), while the Nordic countries have also developed new forms of governance in the field of education, shifting from a model located in a bureaucratic, centralised state to a decentralised and locally based model rooted in goal-steering and construction of a new professionalism (Klette, 2001: 1). In developing countries like China, Chile, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Uganda, as well as Malawi and South Africa (Sayed and Fletcher, 1995: 24) there have been some elements of decentralisation in their education systems. What, however, is most distinctive of many of these country examples is that rather than moving to a model of decentralisation they have accommodated different elements of centralisation and decentralisation. To take the example of United Kingdom, it has been argued that strong state control over the curriculum and the regulation of schools and teachers has been linked to parental choice (Whitty et al, 1998). In reality, therefore, there is no such a thing as a truly decentralised educational system, because almost all decisions on areas such as finance, personnel and curriculum retain some degrees of centralisation and decentralisation (Hanson, 1998: 113). Therefore we need to be aware that centralisation and decentralisation can be slippery concepts that can have contradictory meanings depending on the circumstances and perspectives of the person making judgements (Bray, 1999: 227). The important issue is the finding of the appropriate balance (trade-offs) in any particular context (Hanson, 1998: 113).

The rationales for decentralisation can be administrative, political or ideological (McLean and Lauglo, 1985: 9; Bray, 1999: 209). The administrative rationale targets the most efficient ways of achieving particular educational goals. It focuses on the means rather than the ends. Administratively motivated reforms aim to facilitate the

operation of bureaucracies (Bray, 1999: 209), believing them to achieve educational aims more efficiently than central control. However, both centralisation and decentralisation may be advocated in order to improve efficiency, because the main centralising argument is that operations may be directed more efficiently by a small group of central planners without cumbersome duplication of functions in parallel or subnational bodies (Bray, 1999: 210). In contrast, the argument for decentralising is that specialist parallel bodies are able to focus on the needs of the clients, are closer to the clients, and are able to cater for local diversity (Bray, 1999: 210).

The political rationale targets the maintenance or extension of political power. This may happen when those who grant or demand power aim to extend their political influence or to diffuse political opposition. It seems in this way, that the central authority may concede power in order to persuade potential secession groups to remain within the national framework. According to McLean and Lauglo (1985: 9), ideological rationales are widely based on the belief that greater autonomy is inseparable from views as to the nature of the individual, society and knowledge. These tend to underpin administrative and political rationales, as they are most abstract and fundamental.

The rationales for decentralisation of education will be developed in the next two sections, where we look in more detail at the broad advantages and disadvantages raised in debates over decentralisation, and examine the assumptions underlying them.

### **3.5 The Advantages and Disadvantages of Decentralisation**

#### ***3.5.1 Advantages***

Decentralisation basically entails the devolution of powers that influence political stability, public service performance, equity, and macro-economic stability (World Bank, 2000a: 107). Regarding public service performance, the classic argument in favour of decentralisation is that it increases the efficiency and responsiveness of government, because locally elected leaders know their constituents better than authorities at the national level and can provide the public service local residents need and want. Physical proximity makes local authorities / officials accountable for their performance and it is easier than centralised system for citizens to hold them responsible. In terms of equity, decentralisation is a positive force that attempts to alleviate poverty through horizontal equity (the extent to which sub national governments have fiscal capacity to deliver an equivalent level of services to their populations) and within-state equity (ability or willingness of sub national governments to improve income distribution within their borders) (World Bank, 2000a: 107). However, these are just the general advantages of decentralisation which may or may not directly relate to education.

Decentralisation improves education by allowing for the views of various stakeholders increasing the relevance and innovativeness of programmes, increasing the range of options available to students, reducing inequalities in access to education while improving quality. It improves the operation of the education system by increasing efficiency in allocation and utilisation of resources, and by matching programmes to employers' requirements. Decentralisation is said to change the resources and the amount of funding for education by shifting resources of funding from bureaucrats to

schools. It benefits central government by relieving it of internal bureaucratic headaches, and financial burdens, while increasing the political legitimacy of central government and reducing corruption at the national level. Decentralisation benefits local government primarily by increasing revenues to education, redistributing political power and weakening actors at the centre in favour of those outside the centre. All these advantages can be grouped into political motives (enthusiasm for increased participation in public decision-making), funding motives (local government empowered to fund education) and efficiency motives (more local decision-making reduces the cost of producing a unit of output) (McGinn and Welsh, 1999: 29). All these advantages might be experienced by the Botswana education system, but that has yet to be established. In general, it is argued the process of decentralisation can substantially improve efficiency, transparency, accountability and responsiveness compared with centralised systems. Decentralised education provision promises to be more efficient, to better reflect local priorities, encourages participation, and may improve quality.

### ***3.5.2 Disadvantages***

Unsuccessful decentralisation often threatens economic and political stability, thereby disrupting the delivery of public services. If decentralisation is introduced haphazardly, the process is bound to fail more especially when decision-makers are not in full control of the pace or genesis of decentralisation, this is especially the case in developing countries, where models of decentralisation are often exported from one country to another without regard for local political traditions, regulatory frameworks, or property rights (World Bank, 2000a: 107). Hanson (1998: 112) states that Winker (1993) and Weiler (1993) have observed that the principal arguments behind educational centralisation are:

- Financial, to benefit through economies of scale as well as the equitable allocation of resources to reduce regional economic disparities;
- Policy and pragmatic uniformity, to establish consistency in quality, programmes and activities (for example, curriculum, hiring, examinations, delivery of administrative services);
- Central replacement of scarce human resources, to place strategically the scarce, skilled human resources at those points in the institutions where their impact can reach across the entire education system;
- The diffusion of innovation, to spread changes more rapidly through the entire system; and
- The improvement of teaching-learning; a tightly controlled curriculum can be one policy response to the problem of poorly qualified teachers.

A close look at the above would surface the disadvantages of decentralisation. Financially regions have economic differences. Decentralisation exacerbates policy variations, leading to a lack of standardisation and uniformity. This may be problematic in developing countries because strategies are set to benefit all in unison. Implicitly this could be disastrous in Botswana because regions are different in terms of development and the availability of expertise. In terms of scarce human resources Botswana is a victim of such limitations, and a central distribution of human resource may be a matter of need, rather than following the fashion like form of a decentralised system. The spread of innovation, initiatives and changes in the entire system suffers in decentralised systems because the technology, communication and access to information and resources may not be the same in all regions as is the case in Botswana

(urban-rural polarities). Decentralisation may impede improvements in the teaching-learning process due to a loosely controlled curriculum and a possibility of poorly qualified teachers. Some schools especially those in rural areas in Botswana would have to employ the unqualified teachers and personnel, as the qualified staff would not want jobs at the rural areas. Corruption and nepotism may also escalate when dealing with staff and personnel welfare.

### **3.6 The Broad Assumptions Underlying Decentralisation**

#### ***3.6.1 Organisational assumptions: Order, Disorder and Knowledge***

Arguments for *organisational* decentralisation make two assumptions about the optimal nature of the organisation: ‘one assumption is of tolerance of *order* and *disorder*, while the other is about the *locus of knowledge*’ (Brown, 1990:32). Organisation implies the establishment of order. But for the organisation to survive there must be tolerance of both order and disorder to provide both order and freedom because all organisations must ‘strive continuously for the orderliness of creative freedom’ (Schumacher, 1973: 243). The idea of creative freedom means that decentralisation will allow people to think in their place of work rather than to follow orders as prescribed by bureaucratic rules. Osborne and Gaebler (1992: 259) make a similar point by arguing that ‘people work harder and invest more of their creativity when they control their own work’. Furthermore, the argument for decentralisation is that local agencies can identify the needs and organise education more capably than national governments (McLean and Lauglo, 1985: 10). Therefore within the organisation there must be room for people to act as they view the situation rather than following prescriptions. But the idea of order seems to have notions of central control, while disorderliness has those of flexibility and autonomy. This tension between organisation and creativity means that there will



always be a trade-off involved in any attempt to draw the line as to where the balance should lie.

The below argument concerning the locus of knowledge is that people working in an organisation have more knowledge about the organisation and its relationship to the local context than any outsider does. Contino (1988:34) quoted in Osborne and Gaebler (1992) argues that:

There is nothing that can replace the special intelligence that a worker has about the work place. No matter how smart a boss is or how great a leader, he/she will fail miserably in tapping the potential of the employees by working against employees instead of with them (p.250).

Chubb and Moe (1990:19) have argued that teachers, parents and students should have knowledge. Furthermore, teachers, parents and students should also have autonomy to exercise discretion in applying it to the infinitely varying individuals and circumstances in society (Chubb and Moe, 1990: 36). This is because education requires personal relationships and interactions as well as continual and immediate feedback. Local knowledge enables schools to satisfy their clients as teachers would be allowed to take full advantage of their professionalism, discretionary judgement, and informal co-operation (Chubb and Moe, 1990: 189-90). In contrast, centralised bureaucratic organisations ignore the importance of 'local knowledge' as they inherently provide equal treatment for people who are in fact very different. However, it should be noted that this view begs a set of questions concerning the nature of education, which will be discussed later in the chapter.

### **3.6.2 Organisational assumptions: Flexibility**

Flexibility refers to the capacity to change and the capability of modification (Webster, 1968, in Brown, 1990: 40). Schumacher (1973) argues that:

In any organisation, large or small, there must be a certain clarity and orderliness; if things fall into disorder, nothing can be accomplished yet orderliness, as such, is static and lifeless; so there must be plenty of elbowroom and scope for breathing through the established order, to do things never anticipated by the guardians of orderliness, the new, unpredicted and unpredictable outcome of a man's creative idea (p. 243).

The descriptions above seem to emphasise flexibility in business like organisations but it has been assumed to apply to education in some contexts. Morrison (1998: 62) notes that: 'the thrust in Japanese companies is for consensus-based decision-making and involvement, high efficiency, continuous improvement and error prevention'. Morrison (1998: 63) affirms that 'the corollary of this is an emphasis on flexibility and teamwork'. This presents a colourful picture of how flexibility can work in a business like organisation. But, do schools need to be as flexible as business organisations? Is the idea of flexibility applicable to educational organisations? In a school set up flexibility can take many forms such as organisational, financial and functional (labour and time). If financial is closely looked at, a flexible structure of management at the school would allow increased decision-making and flexibility on issues such as virements and budgets. Therefore, if the system is flexible, the teachers and school managers may be able to transfer funds across votes (allocations or budgets) when there is a need to do so. This is an example of how local

knowledge, creativity and financial flexibility can be seen to be inter linked, because it may be that the transfer of money from one account to another enables schools to capitalise on local knowledge by making a creative response to it.

Flexibility dismantles orderly bureaucratic structures in schools and may replace them with an increased empowerment of teachers, parents and even students. Everybody's point of view in the decision making could be valued and treated fairly. The functional aspect involves flexibility in issues of labour and time which may, if extended to school situations, cover pedagogical change. By adopting a flexible collegial and democratic approach on issues of pedagogical change, the management of the school could address potential problems of hostility and resistance to change by members of the staff (Morrison, 1998: 63).

Decentralisation in this view can facilitate *change*. For a change to work it has to go through a process of adoption, implementation and refinement within the organisation. The people who are to facilitate these processes are the employees of the organisation. But why is decentralisation seen as more effective than centralisation in effecting change? As Osborne and Gaebler, (1992) argue:

Decentralisation encourages teams of employees to form, innovate and champion efforts when they do, and teams that want to make changes in service delivery, reduce costs or increase revenues (267).

Teamwork is often related to innovation, but this view faces difficulties when the change such as innovation is related to curricula and teaching methods. Variations in pedagogy may fail the national goal of uniformity. As Green (1997) has observed:

Centralised systems prescribe the curricula and the teaching methods and the use of professionally designed material and textbooks, which are to encourage a more uniform practice within education, with shared understanding of aims and objectives among teachers, parents and students (p. 290).

Where local goals are seen as secondary to national goals, as they will in many countries, especially developing countries, change at the local level may be seen as peripheral since fundamental change has to come at the national level.

However, it can be seen that the main assumption about decentralisation, in organisational terms, is that it releases individuals' initiative and increases their ownership of the organisation's goals. But this assumption may not be applicable to all situations, because as Hurst (1985) has argued:

A great deal depends on the calibre of the people making decisions'...Not only must local decision-makers be capable of making sound choices, they must also be able to engage their colleagues in effective and efficient implementation of their chosen course of action (P. 80).

This point may be particularly relevant in developing countries where neither teachers nor parents may be that well qualified. Byrne (1974), in Lyons (1985: 87), has argued 'that schools in poverty areas require special care if they are to be brought up to the conditions of education prevailing in well established areas'.

### ***3.6.3 Organisational assumptions: Accountability***

Accountability is the ability to demonstrate that national and local guidelines have been honoured (Caldwell and Spinks, 1988:20). Brown (1990:43) notes that 'accountability

is an important element in organisations and that accountability systems are required under decentralisation'. Bullock and Thomas (1997: 44) argue that 'accountability has a place in contributing to the efficiency of schools'. The argument is, if people are charged with the responsibility of being accountable to stakeholders concerning the use of resources, then they will be committed, and will aim for greater effectiveness in meeting the aims and objectives of the organisation because this may develop the feeling of ownership generating higher morale, as compared to the rigid structures of centralised systems. Osborne and Gaebler (1992) note General Creech's argument that:

In many organisations, there are lots of people just waiting for you to give them some responsibility, some sense of ownership, something they can take pride in. And it's amazing how, once you take those first steps, suddenly a thousand flowers bloom, and the organisation takes off in ways that nobody could have predicted (p.258).

However, it must not be misconstrued that accountability always means ownership, as it is a metaphor. Ownership moves into accountability to express an attitude towards the work done and the claiming of responsibility over its success and failure. The idea of ownership burdens all employees of the organisation with the responsibility of giving proof of quality based on input control and with a specific focus on outputs (Cuttance, 1997:16). Ownership attitudes avert the traditional way of 'raising the eyes' to the highest possible in authority, expecting those at the top to shoulder the blame when things go wrong. The input and output indicators as well as performance indicators are, hence, 'owned' by those in the organisation.

There are many forms of accountability in the public service such as political, economic and cultural accountability. But, in many 'decentralised' educational institutions accountability has been linked with individual teachers and the

assessment of students. Assessment seems to be used as an attempt to change teaching practice, and to regulate competition between institutions. The development of accountability in market based systems of decentralisation has been based on league tables of performance and the flow of resources, such that resources follow students on the assumption that the students will be attracted to the most successful schools.

But, decentralisation of accountability may cause the problem of exporting the 'crisis' to the regions and schools when the state fails to take responsibility for burning issues to suppress political pressure (Whitty, et al. 1998:43). Consequently schools not governments may be seen as solely responsible and accountable for educational problems. Sometimes the problem may manifest itself at the local level, but have its causes at the centre. This is argued by Codd et al (1997) in saying that:

The state can efficiently control educational expenditure in the form of bulk grants, while shifting responsibility for the way funds are spent to the individual level. Most public dissatisfaction with education, therefore, is to be vented at the local level and thus diverted from the central government. The legitimisation crisis is transported downward (p. 268-9).

The insights by Codd et al (1997) raise the question about political motivations for decentralisation. Decentralisation of educational control can be part of a process of shifting political power from one group to another as a means of strengthening political power (McLean and Lauglo, 1985: 11). In this case governments can advocate decentralisation as a democratic right for other stakeholders (McGinn and Welsh, 1999: 31). This has been the experience in England and Wales, when the appointment of the Taylor Committee was seen as an attempt by central government to use parent participation in schools as a means to undermine the professional power of teachers

(Salter and Tapper, 1982). It may also be advocated, and could be deployed to diffuse the opposition and to strengthen the political power of ruling groups at national as well as local level (McLean and Lauglo, 1985: 11).

Having looked at the broad organisational assumptions underlying arguments for decentralisation, we now need to see how they are manifest in one particular, prominent theory of decentralisation, neo-liberalism. This theory provides an 'ideal-type' of how some of the assumptions underlying decentralisation can be fitted into a coherent whole providing the foundation for understanding the World Bank's view and also of why the concept of trade-offs is so important to studies of decentralisation.

### **3.7 The Neo-liberal theory of education**

Neo-liberalism became dominant in the Anglo-Saxon countries during the final decades of the twentieth century, giving greater rein to unregulated, private decision-making (MacEwan, 1999: 4). The policy advocates reduction of government roles in the provision of social welfare, in managing economic activity at the aggregate and sectoral levels, in regulating international commerce and in education. In spite of the fact that it is 'neo-liberalism', the fundamental ideas of this policy are not new, as they come directly from the classical economic liberalism of the nineteenth century, which proclaimed 'the market' as the proper guiding instrument by which people should organise their lives (MacEwan, 1999: 4).

Basically, neo-liberalism operates in rich countries, but the policy is having a powerful role in many lower income countries in Latin America, Africa, Asia, central and Eastern Europe. In part, there is a tendency amongst the key lending agencies (IMF and World

Bank), and private international firms to use their economic muscle and political power to foist 'market-oriented' policy on the peoples of low-income countries as they seem to believe in a 'one size fits all' approach. This approach has however, put many countries and their systems to the test particularly in education. The question 'does this approach work for all?' then arises. Having discussed the assumptions underlying neo-liberal theory in education, the World Bank's views will be analysed.

### ***3.7.1 Market decentralisation theory: The Neo-liberal model***

In market decentralisation theory *funding* is devolved to schools (Burns, et al, 1994: 160) assuming that the local knowledge is the key, and if possible, when parents pay fees they will be motivated to have a stake in their children's education. It is further assumed that the parents will have consumer knowledge about the quality of schools. *Provision* becomes the responsibility of the schools as they are expected to determine what is taught, assuming that they would be in a position to handle curriculum, pedagogy and other distinctive issues (Lyons, 1985: 89). *Governance* would be the responsibility of the headteachers, community of teachers, and /or stakeholders, assuming professionalism would be exercised, and autonomy available within the confines of the market (McGinn and Welsh, 1999: 36). *Accountability* (Chubb and Moe, 1990: 225; Gintis, 1995: 492) would then follow the market mechanism, such that good schools attract students, if not, they close down.

There is however, a likelihood of *trade-offs* between the *freedom* of schools, communities and individual stakeholders, and *equity* in distribution of resources. For example, if schools were 'liberated' from central control, it would mean losing the



central equitable distribution of resources such as manpower, materials and fiscal resources.

Educational reforms in several countries in the 1980s and 1990s changed schools much more to a business platform through the devolution of budgetary control to schools, and marketisation (Morrison, 1998: 5). The arguments for markets were initially based on the theory of neo-liberalism particularly Hayek's in the eighties, and in the United Kingdom endorsed by the Prime Minister's (Margaret Thatcher's) mentor, Keith Joseph (1976: 57). The market solution currently holds and provides politicians with all the benefit of being seen to act decisively, and seldom blamed when things go wrong because in theory, the market mechanism produces its own order (Gewirtz, et al. 1995: 1). The market order seems to give the individual consumer the responsibility, and consumer choice provides the discipline and accountability that the producer can not escape.

In what follows an attempt will be made to analyse neo-liberalism in terms of its key ideas and assumptions: parental choice and diversity; standards and quality, equity, efficiency, teachers' motivation and markets, producer capture, accountability and responsiveness. Finally questions are raised about the application of neo-liberal theory to developing countries.

#### ***3.7.1.1 Parental choice and diversity***

Markets in education seem to have come as a base for reform to dismantle or replace traditionally centralised bureaucracies by decentralised structures (markets) that would promote parental choice and diversity. Choice and diversity are assumed to be central to

the efficient functioning of schools. Hughes et al. (1994) explain the operation of markets through parental choice and diversity as follows:

The idea behind increased parental choice is extremely simple. Parents are to be able to choose the school they want their children to attend, while the funding of schools is linked directly to the number of pupils enrolled. Schools that are successful in attracting parents' custom will expand, while those which are not successful will contract and may even be forced to close (p.78).

### *3.7.1.2 Standards and quality*

The educational market puts consumers (parents) and producers (schools) into a competitive world of winners and losers. This education market taps into the self-interested drive for parents to choose schools that will provide maximum advantage to their children, and self-interested schools as producers in making policy decisions that ensure schools thrive, or at least survive in the market place (Gewirtz et al, 1995: 2). The key issue for schools will be to strike the winning formula by aiming for high standards and quality in education to win consumers' (parents') confidence. Consumers at this stage are interested in schools that deliver the 'goods', usually in terms of examination results. Brown et al (1997: 21) argue that:

Market competition involves a devolution of financial, staffing and policy issues to individual educational institutions, such that they become self-managing on the lines of small- to medium-size businesses. It is assumed that once the market context is established with the appropriate incentives and market disciplines, competition between educational institutions will serve to raise standards or they will go out of business because they can not attract customers.

The argument assumes that raising educational standards for all is simply a question of management and quality teaching (Brown et al, 1997: 21). Markets elevate high standards and quality to influence parental choice through schools academic

performance, which is reflected by academic 'league tables'. League tables also encourage competition, and provide a transparent signal to parents about one key dimension of school performance, examination success.

The argument for markets in education based on raising standards opens more questions than provides answers. Are educational markets practicable in developing countries? What happens in areas where there are no schools to compete, and no options for parents to make their choice? If market forces enhance standards and quality through academic performance for all schools, then the problem of equity in educational access may not exist. However, the winning formula is likely to be skewed towards the high achievers (consumers and producers) (Lauder, Hughes et al, 1999).

### **3.7.1.3 Equity**

The concept of equality of opportunity requires that all should have 'an equal chance to acquire intelligence' (Crossland, 1962: 123). This concept 'would seem to imply that where access to education of a superior school is competitive, every effort should be made to ensure that all are equal at the starting line' (Wringe, 1984: 45). To support this concept, an educational market in theory encourages open enrolment with no restriction on choice of school, and no limited attendance in private schools.

The 'conceptual definition of equity in desert-based terms is that goods should be distributed according to merit or desert where the deserving are defined as those families motivated to take advantage of the policy of open enrolment' (Gewirtz et al, 1995:181). The other definition for equity viewed in needs-based terms is that 'educational resourcing must favour those with greater educational need and those with

fewer private resources in the home and community to be able to meet educational needs' (Levin, 1990; cited in Gewirtz et al, 1995: 181). Given these views of equity it becomes important to know how markets in education can promote it.

But, 'markets in education have been roundly condemned in the educational literature because they undermine equality and equity' (Tooley, 1996: 61). Although Tooley argues that:

State intervention in education has never yet been able to achieve equality... the supposed empirical evidence gathered to show markets increase inequality is only evidence of state intervention increasing equality. The so called markets have hardly moved at all from a position of detailed state regulation, direct funding and provision; their obvious disadvantages are the result of continuing state influence, not the result of any mild market incentives that have been introduced (p61-2).

The above argument seems to provide a defence for markets in education before it clearly spells-out their positive advantages in promoting equity.

A stronger argument for markets in education comes from Goodwin and Le Grand (1987: 223) who argue that the direct funding of education by the state ends in gross inequalities, because the middle classes 'muscle in' using the state to provide for their needs at the expense of the poor. They suggest that if money (or vouchers) are given to the poor to make educational choices they are likely to be empowered. The primary distribution of income should be through indirect funding, rather than enhancing universal provision (Goodwin and Le Grand 1987:236).

Tooley (1996: 64) endorses this view:

The historical evidence suggests that markets promote educational opportunities, because where the state is failing, entrepreneurs seize the opportunity to develop appropriate educational markets. Markets could go a long way towards catering for all, but with a likelihood of a small residual not catered for, may call for small state intervention to ensure funds for those who are too poor and compel partaking in educational opportunities.

This may no longer look like a 'pure market', but a 'market-with-a-safety-net' that can provide educational opportunity for all, thus promoting equity.

The contrary view is that the adoption of market principles in education cannot in any way promote equity because markets stimulate competition through incentives, where inequality is both necessary and inevitable (Ball, 1990: 2-3). Although masquerading as a neutral device for driving up standards, market forces are a class strategy that reinforces and perpetuates existing social and economic inequality and privileges some at the expense of the many (Ranson, 1990: 15 and Ball, 1994, cited in Morrison, 1998:7). Students start their educational competition from different starting points which the market forces are unaware of and it is inherently unfair to assume all as equals in the competition (Jonathan, 1993: 4).

#### ***3.7.1.4 Efficiency***

Advocates claim that the mechanism of market choice and competition among providers will create greater efficiency than publicly controlled approaches to schooling (Levin, 1992, in Cohn, 1997:46), by maximising educational outcomes from resources. Markets create greater efficiency through micro-level-efficiency (the ability of schools to produce educational results for any given level of the resource used), and macro-level-efficiency (the requirement for promoting and maintaining the system of choice in which schools are situated is taken into account to make choice effective and workable).

Under the micro-level approach, schools are responsive to the private goals of individual families by providing more options and more diverse options, and producing higher levels of academic achievement at a lower cost per student (Levin, 1992, in Cohn, 1997:46). If the goals of families are not met then, the parents and pupils have two options of 'exit' and 'voice'. But, pupils and parents are more likely to remain loyal to their designated school if they believe the school will improve through their actions or the action of others, or if they judge the chances for improvement favourable when weighed against the likely gains that choosing an alternative school may bring (Willms and Echols, 1992, in Cohn, 1997:428). If the school is efficient, the school is likely to gain and keep the parent-pupil clientele.

Macro-level efficiency requires the regulation of schools' information for parents, and a mechanism for ensuring that the students receive vouchers that are appropriate to their educational needs (Levin, 1992, in Cohen, 1997: 49). But this would mean that instead of dealing with the school as one unit, the market mechanism has to deal with many units, since schools will have to increase in number to provide enough choice. Information delivery about schools requires state intervention to validate the content and mode of delivery. This seems to bring back the function of the democratic system to provide a means for monitoring and evaluating progress. Does macro-level efficiency necessarily require a centralised mechanism for regulating quality and information? If so this is another example of how centralisation underpins decentralisation, even in a market system.

### ***3.7.1.5 Teachers' Motivation and Markets***

Osborne and Gaebler (1992: 253) argue that: 'when managers entrust employees with important decisions, they signal their respect for those employees in terms of organisations of knowledge workers'. Market forces allow heads of schools the autonomy to create teams of teachers whose values, skills and willingness to work together enhances the pursuit of school goals. In partnership with the staff, the head motivates teacher professionalism for the school rather than against the school. As Chubb and Moe (1988) argue:

The head can encourage teacher participation in decision making, extend teachers substantial autonomy within their own spheres of expertise, and promote a context of interaction of ideas, and mutual respect without any fear or threat to his or her own authority.

Motivated teachers get more involved in important areas of decision-making that bear on their teaching and can become influential over school policies governing the curriculum, student welfare, and teachers' in-service programmes. Teachers are more autonomous in the classroom, have control over text selection, course content, teaching techniques, student discipline and homework. The school then would look like 'a big family' where teachers develop a professional concern with what their colleagues are teaching and observe one another's classes for the purpose of discussing the curriculum and the students.

In the way described above, market proponents have placed much more emphasis on the motivational factors associated with markets, rather than suggesting that markets can approximate to the formal properties and optional outcomes associated with a perfectly competitive market. Teachers would also be confronted with a Faustian bargain: as they

would have greater autonomy under a market system but they could also be threatened with unemployment if they did not perform (Lauder et al, 1999: 19).

Again, there is a downside to this picture. Can teachers be motivated while there is fear of unemployment? Certainly a market environment would be far more unstable than that experienced in centralised state systems. In turn, rather than sharing best practice teachers might never open up either to share their strategies for success or to expose their incapability, especially when 'schools would like to have educators (teachers) on the basis of ability and subject matter knowledge rather than credentials' (Coulson, 1999: 384).

#### ***3.7.1.6 Producer capture***

If the above describes the positive ways in which markets can motivate not only students, then it is argued that they can also address the claimed negative side of teachers' motivations, which has to do with so called provider or producer capture (Lauder, 1997).

School competition makes schools change and focus out of fear of extinction. Traditional education provision based on 'producer capture' where producers (teachers) dictated the 'products' and 'terms' would give way to a consumer orientation. In an educational context, schools would need to keep close to the requirements of consumers (parents and students), and not just dictate the terms of their products. The reduction of producer capture through the introduction of consumerism gives consumers (parents) power to choose the service providers who respect their views. The key source of



respect is power and parents have power to the extent that they can penalise service providers when displeased. Gintis (1995) observes that:

The most direct way of penalising a service provider is to switch to an alternative provider, and this is effective only in a competitive delivery system in which the welfare of the service provider depends on the size of the clientele' (p.493).

These arguments have put the consumer at the forefront, in the sense that they have the right to have their preferences dictate the educational environments of their children.

But, the education service is the responsibility of producers and consumers, and the provision of education deserves the concerted efforts of both. The provision of education cannot be left to the consumers alone to dictate terms of provision and quality, as they may not be well informed about what has to be taught to their children. Tomlinson (1993: 4) argues that: 'to cast the parents merely as consumers is to foster suspicion rather than partnership in education; parents become the 'vigilantes' rather than supporters'. Parents also have a co-educational role. Consumers are most likely to be divided when it comes to certain issues. For example, parents who think their children are high achievers would usually want their children to be enrolled in classes of high achievers. If consumers were to dictate terms to schools then, this would compromise the idea of choice for all. That is one parent's freedom to choose would be another parent's 'unfreedom'.

This points to the fact that teachers have a responsibility to educate all children while parents have only responsibility for their own. As Gintis (1995: 509) notes, educators often have rather more elevated goals for education such as: promoting equality and

tolerance, teaching artistic and spiritual values, creating community, and the idea that those could be promoted by the market place is anathema. The school choice model is only reasonable under normal conditions if parents are capable of making well informed choices regarding their children's educational needs and are willing to expend time and effort to place their children in the proper educational environment. Gintis (1995) argues that:

Many educators doubt if parents possess these qualities, and are very unhappy at the prospect of schools being run as profit making institutions, of educational entrepreneurs plying an uncritical and indifferent public with get-education quick schemes and offering modish blandishments incompatible with educational excellence (p.498).

For these reasons the market idea that there are two players with one role each in an educational market is to simplify the roles of both parents and teachers.

#### ***3.7.1.7 Accountability and responsiveness under market conditions***

Accountability refers to the proving of quality. Accountability in market systems of education is based on the quantitative measure of performance of participating schools that is maintained and disseminated to the public for consumption (Gintis, 1995:492). As a matter of proving quality, accountability makes available standardised measures of school performance (indicators), such as achievement scores, student retention rates, teacher qualifications and retention, audit and evaluation reports. As we have seen, these are typically augmented through professional judgements of schools made by standard agencies such as boards of inspectors.

Furthermore, market forces allow that while schools are to be accountable to the state on matters regarding the meeting of legal procedural requirements, the key to quality lies from the bottom up:

The state will not hold the schools accountable for students' achievement or other dimensions that call for assessments of quality of school performance, but instead schools are held accountable from below, by parents and students who directly experience their service and are free to choose (Chubb and Moe, 1990: 225).

The state keeps a low profile by playing a supporting role primarily by monitoring the full and honest disclosure of information by schools.

However, as with other elements of this theory, how parents respond to market signals is problematic. Responsiveness is a complex, multi-layered concept that does not belong only to market theory (Woods et al, 1998: 147). Woods et al, (1998: 147) note that Scott (1989) distinguishes four aspects of responsiveness: political, market, professional and cultural. The political aspect is when public schools are publicly funded, and properly subjected to the will of democratically elected governments. The professional aspect encompasses responsibilities to professional obligations such as codes of practice and sets of values. Cultural aspects concern allegiance to cultural goals and values, which typically involve the classical notions of the good, the true and the beautiful (Woods et al, 1998: 148). The most crucial aspect in this discussion is market responsiveness where the role of the consumer is emphasised. According to market theory (Scott, 1989: 18), if the consumer 'can be placed in a direct relationship with the supplier of the services they seek, then a self-regulatory market can be allowed

to operate', assuming customers would know what a good choice is, and what the schools provide.

However, parents and students may not be in a good position to challenge the schools when they fail to account and respond to their needs and expectations. If schools are in a catchment area of less educated parents, they may take advantage of the situation and survive in the market inspite of their performance. This situation may be exacerbated in developing countries. Market forces and their arguments are complex developments, which Kwong, (2000: 92) argues 'should be adopted only after careful consideration of the particular situation and the basic philosophy of education in the country concerned'.

#### ***3.7.1.8 Neo-Liberal Theory and Developing Countries***

Some of the major criticisms of neo-liberal theory have been raised in the above discussion based on a now extensive literature on the subject. However, neo-liberal educational policies are also advocated for developing countries (see next section) but there would be fundamental problems caused by the withdrawal of the state in the way prescribed. For example, the rapid expansion of literacy programmes and other educational efforts would be hampered, as they require a major role for the public sector especially in provision. Without state funding and provision, the gap between the elite and the illiterate would widen further. Heavy state investment in health-care programmes runs contrary to neo-liberalism's prescription of a minimal role for government in economic affairs. But the world is currently faced with different kinds of diseases and health problems, and thus health programmes are conducted in schools to educate school communities. Programmes of this nature are crucial in developing countries where there are surmountable (increasing) HIV/AIDS related diseases.

Developing countries tend to have polarised income between a small wealthy elite and the majority of the poor. But this can become a major deterrent to education for all unless the government intervenes to bridge the gap between rich and poor schools by means of block grants and or subsidies (Cummings and Nielsen, 1997: 785).

Greater differentiation in school quality is likely to ensue unless discrimination is made in favour of disadvantaged groups and areas. Equally, diversity needs to be weighed against the price to pay in terms of the fragmentation of national integrity along various divisions in the society (Riddell, 1997: 194). An emphasis on a system that embraces elements of a central bureaucratic policy may be necessary to enhance political unity, planning, and standards, efficiency, and resource distribution.

### **3.8 The World Bank's views on decentralisation<sup>1</sup>**

Although the general expectation for the decentralisation of educational administration is to achieve an effective and efficient system, there may be other valuable effects at the system level. Certainly the World Bank believes this to be the case in relation to democracy and equity as well as educational outcomes.

#### **3.8.1 Democracy**

The word 'democracy' originates from Greek, and only came into English in the sixteenth century from the French word 'democratie', the root meanings of which are demos (people) and kratos (rule) (Held, 1996: 1). Democracy may further be defined as a 'form of government in which, in contradiction to monarchies and aristocracies, the people rule' (Held, 1996:1). Carr and Hartnett (1996: 42-47) cited Pateman (1970) in

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<sup>1</sup> For further critiques of the world Bank see also, Taylor, et al. (1997 ) and Jones, P (1998 ).

distinguishing between two basic concepts of classical and contemporary democracy. The classical concept of democracy is based on an individual's moral value and participation in determining the common good in a public domain (education) as part of a form of social and political life (Gaeonale, 1997: 22), while the contemporary concept means equality in choosing representatives / leaders periodically by casting the vote (enfranchisement) as it is done when electing political leaders, school governors, representatives and school committees (Gaeonale, 1997: 22). It is therefore important to understand how the World Bank views a decentralised system as facilitating democracy. The World Bank (2000a) argues that:

In South Africa and Uganda decentralisation has served as a path to national unity. In Sri Lanka it offers a political solution to the civil war. It is an instrument for deflating secessionist tendencies in Ethiopia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Colombia centralised party elite relied on decentralisation to gain grassroots support, particularly in areas under rebel control. And Russia's transformation into a decentralised federal system can be seen as a means of conceding enough power to regional interests to forestall their departure from the republic (p.108).

This quotation seems to suggest that decentralisation facilitates democratic intentions by evolving enough power to the regions to enhance political stability in times of division along geographic or ethnic lines. These divisions are common even in Africa where tribal conflicts in some countries are highly pronounced. But, how does democracy and decentralisation fit into the education service?

Decentralisation has a primary objective to maintain political stability in the face of pressures for localisation (World Bank, 2000a: 107). If a country is politically unstable and deeply divided as said before, along geographic or ethnic lines, decentralisation

provides an institutional mechanism for bringing oppositions into the formal, rule-bound bargaining process of democracy. Within this process of democracy there are demands for greater participation in decision-making. To achieve such democracies (openness and transparencies) in a modern society, institutional working arrangements within community groups can contribute to greater state effectiveness by giving citizens a greater voice in the formulation of government's policies (World Bank, 1997: 28). This idea takes elements of both the classical and contemporary concepts of democracy since decentralisation can extend enfranchisement but also encourage greater participation.

In education decentralisation extends the idea of participation by allowing parental and community/household involvement, 'when accompanied by measures to ensure equity in the provision of resources, and can off-set much of the power of vested interest, such as teachers' unions and the elite' (World Bank, 1995: 140). In such democracies, 'education institutions may be more accountable for their performance when households are more involved in the institutions that family members attend through household participation in school governance and through exercising choice among schools and institutions' (Burnett, 1996: 219).

The World Bank then makes the connection between democracy, decentralisation and markets, arguing that education can be enhanced by the use of market mechanisms (at least in urban areas) that increase accountability and choice (World Bank, 1995: 140).

Associated with market mechanisms in education, there emerges an aspect of 'liberation' where parents are free to choose schools for their children, and schools are

‘liberated’ to choose students. Such democratic tendencies (liberation) set opportunities for competition among parents to win access to high performing schools, and among schools to win customers and find their market niche. Furthermore, democracy and decentralisation enable schools to be more autonomous and flexible in aspects of the curriculum, teaching styles, and at higher levels, in course offerings. However, as argued above, this may not be good for countries that are still developing and emphasising unity through, amongst other things, a common curriculum.

### **3.8.2 Equity**

Rich and poor countries alike, believe that an educated citizenry is essential for the economic well being of a society, and that a trained labour force will give a nation the competitive edge in the world economy (Kwong, 2000: 88). If education is considered to be a valuable public good, then the resourcing and provision strategies become matters of paramount force. Along side provision strategies, issues such as equity tend to rank top of the agenda. But, how have the developing countries fared in the issue of equity? What system has worked favourably to support attempts to meet equity goals?

Equity in a decentralised system may be looked at in two ways (*horizontal equity* and *within-state equity*) to establish whether decentralisation exacerbates income differences or becomes a positive force in efforts to alleviate poverty (World Bank, 2000a:109). Horizontal equity is the extent or degree to which sub-national governments have the fiscal capacity to deliver an equivalent level of services such as education to their population. Within-state equity is the ability or willingness of sub-national governments to improve income distribution within borders (World Bank, 2000a: 110).



For the horizontal equity to prevail, it must be understood that tax bases (economic sources and communities) differ substantially from region to region and city to city, but tax rates may remain the same across the country. Just like the Botswana situation, districts differ in income bases but the income tax rates are the same. A business in a small village can not make the same income or profit as the same business in the city. A local government or district with a relatively small tax base can not compensate by imposing much higher tax rates without losing businesses and residents to jurisdictions with lower taxes. Furthermore, regional characteristics such as population density and geographic location may determine the cost of providing public services such as education. But most decentralised fiscal systems include equalisation of grants to correct cost variations. These grants may be in terms of subsidies, supplementary grants or special grants given for a minimum level of per capita expenditures for essential services in all regions or districts as a measure to ensure similar levels of service in the country.

Within-state equity's main target is to bridge income inequality, which is due more to differences among the individuals within a state or province than to differences amongst the states or provinces themselves. Providing additional resources to the poorer regions or provinces may appear to solve problematic aspects of equity (horizontal), but individuals within these provinces may remain poor. These resources may not reach the individual families or schools. 'Evidence from India and Indonesia shows that even dramatic redistribution across regions will have limited results unless targeting is improved within regions themselves' (World Bank, 2000a: 110). Realising an issue of knowledge and targeting is involved, it is crucial at this point that within-state equity

takes over from the horizontal equity to ascertain the nature of the equalisation of grants / resources necessary to address poverty. It is an important aspect of equity strategies that they empower local authorities and community groups because they are better placed within-state to identify and reach the poor than are the central authorities. To cite examples, 'in Albania, local officials had considerable success in targeting the poor-far better than expected, given available statistical information on income and family characteristics, while in Uzbekistan elected neighbourhood committees were able to increase both the efficiency and cost-effectiveness of targeting' (World Bank, 2000a: 111). Decentralisation may give committees more power to influence their local governments such that the composition of local expenditures shifts in favour of the poor.

It is in this broader context of democracy and equity that the World Bank places its arguments for educational markets. But, is there really such a thing as equity in a decentralised education system? To relate horizontal and within-state equity to education, it is argued that equity in education must have two principal aspects. The first is that everyone has a right to a basic education, where everyone can acquire the basic knowledge and skills necessary to function effectively in society (Burnett, 1996: 219). This description of education equity seems to relate well with horizontal equity, where the definition appears to legitimise the uniform provision of education across the country. According to this view, Botswana enacts horizontal equity in the sense that everybody has a legitimate right to basic education (pre-school, primary, and junior secondary education). However, one has to pass examinations at the end of junior secondary to move on to senior secondary education.

The second aspect is when 'the government has an obligation to ensure that qualified potential students are not denied education because they are poor or female, or from disadvantaged ethnic (including linguistic) minorities or geographically remote regions, or have special educational needs' (Burnett, 1996: 219). This takes up the position of within-state equity, where provision of education is more focused on groups and individuals, and all elements of discrimination are addressed and weeded out of the education system. Botswana seems to have made great strides to this effect, as many schools have been built and efforts made through social work to assist and encourage children from poor families and regions to take up places in schools. At the lowest level of compulsory education, equity simply means ensuring that schools are available (possibility of choice aspect). Beyond that, it means having fair and valid ways of determining potential students' qualifications for entry (Burnett, 1996: 219).

Equity can be achieved if both financial and administrative measures are taken into account. Financial measures are important at all levels to enable the poor to acquire education. Providing scholarships that can cover fees and the other necessary direct costs such as transportation, books and uniform could do this. Administrative measures include an increase in the participation of the poor, females, linguistic minorities and students with special educational needs (more access / opportunities). Programmes may be designed to show the importance of educating children, thereby tapping the increased demand for schooling among the poor. Where possible for linguistic minorities, bilingual programmes could be designed to cater for such differentials. Schools may then opt to offer a choice of language of instruction especially at an early stage of education (pre-school and primary).

However, the World Bank has changed its position over the past decade and while once committed to neo-liberalism in general it now qualifies this commitment. An example of this lies in its renewed belief in the effectiveness of central government. It argues that, in most cases, the bulk of the funding ought to remain a central government responsibility, while better information available to local officials can be tapped by involving local governments in delivery and management of services (World Bank, 2000a: 111). Monitoring needs to be retained by the central government to ensure that re-distributive goals are satisfied, and that equity strategies are achievable. Furthermore, equality and equity should not be confused, as they are complimentary to each other. A thin line can be drawn by regarding 'equality as having to do with sameness, and in public policy, with non-discrimination, and equity has to do with fairness and justice' (Samoff, 1996: 262).

### ***3.8.3 Performance / Outcomes***

While the World Bank sees a role for central government, the faith in competition is never very far away and mirrors the views of those who regard decentralised competitive education systems as more effective because of local knowledge. One of their core arguments in favour of decentralisation is that it increases the efficiency and responsiveness of government. This argument is based on the assumption that locally elected leaders or local authorities know their constituents better than authorities at the national level and are well positioned to provide the public services that local residents want and need. The physical proximity makes everything easier for local citizens to hold local officials accountable for their performance or outcomes (World Bank, 2000a:108). If the local people are not happy with the performance / outcomes, they may move ('vote with their feet') to another jurisdiction where outcomes appear to be

good and attractive: an example of exit rather than voice. The movement to the better performing jurisdictions may create tensions and competition among the local governments or districts, and further, amongst the individuals. The implication that follows is that decentralisation can create competition among local governments to better satisfy citizens' needs by targeting their goals with reference to outcomes, and quality of the services. In the end, competition may lead to market-like public service provision.

However, the World Bank notes that evidence supporting their argument is scanty, not because there is evidence to the contrary, but rather because the causal relationships are difficult to prove (World Bank, 2000a:109), hence perhaps their belief in deducing policy from first premises! The possible truth may be that countries, regions, people are different, and governments perform a variety of functions under vastly different circumstances. This certainly applies in Botswana as districts, tribes, towns and cities are different in their structure and needs. This may stand as a reason why comparisons of performance between countries (e.g. Botswana and other Southern African nations) may be complicated. And it raises questions about whether the World Bank's one size fits all policy is appropriate.

The design and implementation of decentralisation depends on the responsibilities and resources granted. It is therefore important to know if resourcing and decentralising of management responsibility directly to regions and schools would improve educational performance / outcomes. However, this enables the World Bank to take the next step which is that decentralisation presupposes systemic reform. According to it, governments need to look at the whole education sector before setting priorities, as

attention to only one level of education is insufficient to draw conclusions on outcomes (World Bank, 1995: 8; Burnett, 1996: 218-219). This is probably true, in principle, because there are too many intervening variables between the management device of decentralisation and improved students' outcomes. However, it is questionable whether the type of whole-scale reform implied by this view is sound. The very complexity of systemic reform means that problems arising cannot be identified as having a clear cause. In addition, there are other elements to student outcomes such as parents' attitudes, peer group support, the school culture of learning, different teaching and learning styles, time-on-task, teacher motivation, and many others. These would have to be taken into account parallel to the priorities and strategies of education decentralisation, in order to draw sound conclusions over outcomes. Arguably a better way of advancing is either to develop pilot forms of decentralisation or to undertake it incrementally, taking one step at a time and assessing its effects.

All of these orientations to educational change in the developing world are legitimised by reference to orthodox economic analysis. Here, 'economic analysis usually compares benefits (in labour productivity, as measured by wages) with cost, for individuals and society' (World Bank, 1995: 8). The priorities are to be determined by public investments, which have the highest rate of social return and the lowest level of public subsidisation. This may imply that schools should provide quality education to the children, who in turn will be high achievers, and earn better salaries, but have paid the lowest school fees / subsidy for their education. Countries that have succeeded in universal primary and lower-secondary education through decentralised approaches are likely to further consider upper-secondary and higher education, by making informed decisions through the prudent use of economic analysis focused on labour market outcomes. The World Bank (1995) states that:

Countries that have yet to achieve universal education, using economic analysis to guide decisions about which investments will have the greatest effect. Focusing on outcomes also entails the establishment of performance standards, particularly for primary and general secondary schools, and development of a system of assessments to monitor what students are learning. Standards, curricula and monitoring are most effective when they are directly linked through appropriate incentives (p.9).

Burnett (1996: 219) shares the same sentiments regarding the above quotation but not all view the methods of orthodox economics and the policy processes they give rise to as unproblematic. According to the World Bank's view priorities are to be set with reference to outcomes, by using economic analysis, standard targets and measures of learning achievement. But what are seen as desirable educational outcomes, unlike balance sheets, can always be contested; 'discussing outcomes is never easy because, like beauty, they are often seen as in the eyes of the beholder' (Hanson, 1996: 124). What is viewed as success in one country may be seen as a complete failure in another country depending on the goals of the education system. It is part of the problem of the World bank's one-size fits all view that it ignores problems of contexts or where it takes them into account sees them as either retarding or facilitating their one best system.

### **3.9 Different modes of decentralisation: Country examples**

Decentralisation embraces different modes that need careful scrutiny in any country before strategies and their policy conversions are implemented. For example, some countries might only devolve management responsibility, while others will devolve the latter with financial control (Sayed and Fletcher, 1995: 23). Moreover, the examples given below also invite the question of how much can be learned from different countries when these dimensions vary so much between them. The central dimensions

or modalities involved in devolution are governance, funding, provision, and regulation and accountability. In defining these terms Dale's (1997) analysis will be followed.

### *Governance*

Governance concerns how decisions are to be made as to how school systems and/or individual schools are to be managed; it does *not* refer to the actual day to day management of schools although where the line is drawn between governance and management can be debated. The system of governance employed will be determined by the particular view of how a school system should operate. For example, in a highly centralised system a state hierarchy or bureaucracy will determine governance. In decentralised systems governance may be by a board at the regional or school level which oversees management. The board may be comprised of some or all the stakeholders in a school system.

According to Hirst and Thompson (1995) (quoted in Dale, 1997):

Governance -that is, the control of an activity by some means such that a range of outcomes is attained - is, however, not just the province of the state. Rather, it is a function that can be performed by a wide variety of public and private, state and non-state, national and international institutional practices (p. 422)

However, Dale goes on to argue that the state 'does not go away in this process'

(p.274). Rather in its role as funder and regulator of public education, the state will have a major role in governance, even if at a distance.

### *Funding*

Dale argues that there are five different principles of distribution of funding. These are:



1. Funding may be directed to organisations or to individuals (e.g., in the form of scholarships or vouchers) or a combination of both.
2. Funding may be available to all members of and/or organisations within a given population or targeted at particular groups or individuals.
3. Funding may be subject to conditions (e.g., some form of payment by results).
4. It may be available only on a competitive basis.
5. It can take the form of grants, loans, investment or subsidy.

The particular form that funding takes will be determined by a range of factors, including the mix of incentives that are assumed will produce the best results in terms of the government's aims. It should be noted that funding involves not only the sources of funds i.e., public or private but also how the funds are allocated which in turn involves an understanding of systems of admission to schools. For example in a state structured and funded market system funds may be dispersed through an intermediate organisation like a local education authority but the funds a school receives will be determined by the number of students it can attract.

### ***Provision***

Provision involves the way in which the resources required by schools, including teacher supply, the curriculum and buildings and equipment are determined. Depending on the government's view and philosophy of how these factors can be most efficiently and effectively provided, provision may be by the state itself or by private or non-profit making organisation e.g., churches.

### ***Regulation and Accountability***

Dale argues that funding and regulation determine the framework for provision. There are two broad forms of regulation: *ex ante*, before the fact and *ex-post*, after the fact. The former seeks to control resource inputs to activities such as the formula for funding teachers per number of pupils in centralised school systems. The latter are goal governed forms of regulation in which institutions are regulated according to how well they have achieved performance targets. Rewards and sanctions are tied to how well performance targets are met.

Regulation is linked to provision in the sense that the state's philosophy may be that provision may come from either the public, private or non-governmental spheres but that whether it is sustained and rewarded by the state will be determined by performance. Regulation may take the form of laws, ordinances or determinations by regulatory bodies.

It will be clear from the above that there are very many different ways of linking the four modalities. However, for the purpose of this thesis many of the details of the mechanics of these different modalities will be put to one side since it is the broad approaches and the underlying rationales for them that are of interest. Too much detail

at this stage may obscure the views of stakeholders as to the path that Botswana should adopt from this point in. The detail could come at a later stage when decisions about the type of decentralisation to be undertaken have been made.

In this study the issues of manpower and discipline of both teachers and students are examined separately in relation to Botswana. The reasons for this are that Botswana is experiencing a shortage of skilled teachers and questions as to how this can best be addressed, and administratively relate directly to how best to decentralise. Discipline is also an issue. There is a view, in Botswana, that as the system has expanded to encompass more students, not all of them behave appropriately at school. Botswana has also had to encourage many overseas teachers into the country, while at the same time teachers in distant parts of the country have been isolated. In small communities it may be difficult to discipline teachers that have not behaved as they should and therefore discipline has ultimately been an issue for headquarters.

By examining the experience of a range of African countries in terms of the modalities of governance, finance, provision, regulation and accountability, we can establish the many different types of decentralisation that exist and gain an understanding of the trade-offs made. This understanding will help to inform the scenarios that will be developed at the second stage of the research. The countries examined are from sub-Saharan Africa. The comparative work of examining different dimensions to decentralisation in developed countries has been extensively investigated (Whitty, Power and Halpin, 1998; Klette, 2001; Lauder and Hughes et al, 1999; Thrupp, 2001). However, less work has been done on African countries. The following brief descriptions of decentralisation in South Africa, Malawi, Uganda and Zimbabwe are

designed to illustrate the way the different modalities are configured in these countries and to point up some traditions that they have in common and which they share with Botswana. Consequently, they will have a bearing on possible forms of decentralisation in Botswana.

In addition to the categories outlined above, human resources that would normally be part of provision is included in a category of its own. This is because the question of the supply of teachers is perhaps the most pressing in sub-Saharan Africa due to the impact of disease and poverty.

### ***3.9.1 Governance***

#### ***South Africa:***

With the advent of the post-Apartheid regime, the country was subdivided into 9 provinces, 5 metropolitan areas and 850 municipalities, which are all racially mixed and with democratically elected governments (World Bank, 2000a: 108). Despite some central controls, the education system has different sub-systems based on the provinces, each with its own school models, funding formula for schools, relationships to parents, and arrangements for school governance. To practice contemporary democracy in education, the South African Education Act (1996) decentralised power by providing for the establishment of governing bodies with considerable powers at all public schools. The composition of governing bodies includes: the school principal, elected representatives of parents, teachers, non-teaching staff and students in secondary schools; governing bodies can also co-opt non-voting members (Pampallis, 2000: 5). With the exception of non-teaching staff and learners, the composition seems to be similar to that of Botswana secondary schools. In South Africa, parents are a majority

on the governing bodies. The governing bodies are empowered to develop and adapt school mission statements, administer and control school property, buildings and grounds, (Pampallis, 2000: 5). The sharing of power and responsibilities is consistent with the view that power should be decentralised to encourage greater levels of popular participation in decision-making and policy implementation. But so far, the Provincial Review Report (Ncholo, 1997) and an Education Sector Review (DoE, 1998b) has evaluated educational administrative structures and identified serious managerial dysfunction, poor performance and systemic inefficiencies. These arose due to the lack of skills, knowledge and capacities of managers and the deeply entrenched bureaucratic and hierarchical management practices inherited from apartheid civil service traditions (Motala, 2002: 117). The capacity to manage meaningfully differs, as the middle-class communities have greater skills and resources (Sayed and Carrim, 1998; Muller and Roberts, 1998). Hence, greater efforts have been made to shift from legislative prescription to constitutional co-ordination between the national and provincial spheres (Motala, 2002: 117), such that governance is benchmarked by law.

#### Zimbabwe:

In Zimbabwe, the functions of administration, staffing and supervision are decentralised to regional, district and school levels (Gatawa, 1995: 1088). Most schools are privately owned and belong to an assortment of authorities, which comprise churches, local government authorities, boards, Committees and individuals (Gatawa, 1995: 1088). The majority of these schools are owned by district councils, which administer rural communal areas where most Zimbabweans live.

#### Malawi:

In Malawi, historically formal education has been highly centralised, such that the administration filters from headquarters to regional offices in Mzuzu (north), Lilongwe (centre) and Blantyre (south) (Nyirenda, 1995: 599). The regional offices are further broken down to 28 district education offices, 6 in the north, 10 in the central districts and 12 in the south. At the moment, most government secondary schools and private schools have Boards of Governors. Decision-making is mostly made within the school by the head and senior management; occasionally, governors and regional officers are involved. The Ministry of Education is responsible for decisions taken at secondary or regional level where they involve major implications for national policy matters such as national curriculum, examinations, norms and standards, resource distribution, co-ordination and monitoring.

#### *Uganda:*

In Uganda, the management and administration of the education system is officially centralised in the Ministry of Education and Sports, through the management and administration arm headed by the Commissioner for Education (Odaet, 1995: 1018). The government through district education offices administers state schools. However, there are governing bodies and PTAs, which assist in school matters such as fees and discipline (Odaet, 1995: 1018). Private schools are governed by the founders through management committees that are composed of representatives of founders, parents and teachers.

### ***3.9.2 Funding***

#### **South Africa:**

Regarding schooling in South Africa, the post-Apartheid education reforms produced the South African Schools Act of 1996, which was meant to address issues of equity, redress, access and democratic governance which were outlined in the 1995 White Paper. As a result, the Act replaced the multiple school models of the various apartheid education departments with two legally recognised school categories (public schools and independent private). Therefore, the Department of National Education distributes funds according to government set formulae to the other education departments (Bondesio and Berkhout, 1995: 895). As part of decentralisation, the governing bodies are empowered by right to rent school property for fund raising purposes and develop budgets for schools (including school fees) for approval at parents' meetings (Pampallis, 2000: 5; Poo and Hoyle, 1995: 77). Once approved the school fees become compulsory to all parents, unless specifically granted exemption. Children may not be excluded from school for default of payment, but the school may sue parent offenders.

#### **Zimbabwe:**

In Zimbabwe, the government's funding of schools is mainly centralised through grants worked out per child per year. Schools have school development committees that organise fund raising to supplement government grants (Gatawa, 1995: 1085). The social dimension fund is operated at regional level for those who can not afford to pay fees. Fees are put together in a national fund which is then reallocated to individual schools, as a result of a cost- recovery scheme that was introduced in 1992 (Gatawa, 1995: 1085). Private schools have a grant from the government not as big as the state schools' mainly for payment of teachers.

Malawi:

In Malawi, the central government supports education by making funding available, through the regional offices, for administrative costs, teachers' salaries, books, teaching materials and sports equipment. School buildings and furnishing are through Government projects and programmes, donor aided and community contributions, and privately tendered contracts (Nyirenda, 1995: 599). In primary schools, there is a free education policy at the moment, but parents pay a small contribution. Secondary schools have two categories, private schools and government schools. For government schools, tuition and other fees are paid by the parents but subsidised by government. The private schools are business like, and they charge per admission. In addition to these there are church / Islamic schools. For church owned schools, the government supplies some teachers and provides other subsidies, while the church provides the majority of funds.

Uganda:

In Uganda the government provides grants for administrative costs (Odaet, 1995: 1018). There is a free primary education policy, where government meets all the expenses. Secondary schools have two categories, private schools and government schools. For government schools, teachers' salaries and maintenance are provided centrally, while tuition and other fees are paid by the parents but subsidised by government. The private schools are business like, and they charge expensive fees per admission (Odaet, 1995: 1019). In addition to these, there are church schools that are sometimes subsidised by the government.



### ***3.9.3 Provision***

#### **South Africa:**

Provision is based on the National curriculum policy aims where 'all children have the right to basic education', where schools follow the provincial / municipal curriculum that is developed in the context of the province. The governing bodies may seek permission from the provincial department of education, and consistent with the South African Schools Act, use the provincial law to maintain and improve school property (buildings and grounds), determine extra curricular activities, decide on admission policy, choose subjects offered at the school (within the parameters of provincial curriculum policy), purchase text books, other materials and equipment (Pampallis, 2000; 5). This outlines how decentralised provision is practised in South Africa. It may be probably still early to evaluate progress as of now. But it is clear that South Africa operates a highly decentralised system based on the provinces.

#### **Zimbabwe:**

The provision of education is highly centralised especially on admission or selection to study at A-level where all heads meet to select candidates. As for other levels, a zoning system applies in districts. Education is the responsibility of the national government administered through the two Ministries of Education and Culture (primary and secondary), and Higher Education (tertiary) (Gatawa, 1995: 1088). Zimbabwe provides a highly centralised curriculum in primary and secondary education to achieve the national goals, and continues to be highly academic because of the requirements of the

English examination boards (Gatawa, 1995: 1084). The boards influence standardisation and performance indicators.

Malawi:

Provision in Malawi is offered through the National curriculum, which is centrally determined and co-ordinated by the Malawi Institute of Education through the Curriculum Development Centre, and the input of all crucial stakeholders. Primary education is officially from 6 years of age, and students are expected to spend 8 years in primary school, 4 years in secondary school, 3 years diploma courses, and 4 - 5 years at degree level (Malawi, 1999e: 14; Nyirenda, 1995: 597). The average enrolment of each school is 340 pupils and student-teacher ratio is 27:1; students are expected to pass examinations in order to achieve promotion from primary to secondary schools (Nyirenda, 1995: 598).

Uganda:

All children from the age of 5 years are supposed to receive free primary education, but school places and funds are not always enough. As for primary schools, parents choose schools although oversubscribed schools demand written interviews. The Ministry of Education distributes students to different secondary schools, so that schools just receive lists of students to be admitted, but they are allowed to admit extra number of students if there are places for them. All schools follow the prescribed National curriculum developed by the National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) (Odaet, 1995: 1019). All curriculum syllabuses and materials are reviewed by national conferences on education to ensure the economic, social, and political relevance of the

curriculum (Odaet, 1995: 1020). Students take National examinations in order to obtain promotion to the next level of schooling.

### ***3.9.4 Regulation***

#### **South Africa:**

The main ways in which governments can help improve the quality are setting standards, supporting inputs known to improve achievement, adopting flexible (decentralised) strategies for the acquisition and the use of inputs, and monitoring performance (World Bank, 1995: 6). To satisfy these, developing countries need to build and maintain their institutional capacities to design, analyse, manage and evaluate programmes for education and training (World Bank, 1980: 10). During the apartheid period, privatisation in South Africa was based on the assumption of the deregulation of school provision, such that there was a 'market logic' where the provision of schooling was related to the process of demand and supply (Sayed and Fletcher, 1995: 32). But now, the fiscal federalism, national and provincial relationships and financial responsibilities are shared to shape the role and direction of education reform. The relationship between national and provincial departments points to the dysjuncture between power and accountability where the national level determines policy and the provinces are expected to implement it (Motala, 2002: 117). Constitutionally, national and provincial government shares responsibility for framing the laws and administrative systems of education except higher education where national government has sole responsibility. The national government provide the regulatory, statutory and legislative frameworks while the provinces have the sole responsibility for delivery and implementation of policies (Motala, 2002: 117), but government has been of late called to safeguard overall transformation (Ncholo, 1997).

### Zimbabwe:

In Zimbabwe, the national curriculum and examination system is the basis for accountability. As we have seen, there is a common curriculum which is centrally determined by subjects panels and co-ordinated by the Curriculum Development Unit, and the examinations are centralised, as the system is examination oriented (Gatawa, 1995: 1089). The O- and A-level examinations are developed and administered jointly by Zimbabwe Ministry of Education and the University of Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate, but there has been a localisation programme to establish a local examination body (Gatawa, 1995: 1089). But there is little room for flexibility as to what subjects are offered by schools; some schools have commercial courses that other schools do not offer. In this case, some examinations are taken with overseas centres, but not the ones (local examinations), which are mainly under the controlling centre. The Ministry of Education and Culture distributes resources, and appoints and pays teachers for both government and private schools, but private schools are free to hire additional teachers to improve on teacher-student ratios, hence the largest percentage of teachers are civil servants (Gatawa, 1995: 1088). Decentralisation has so far only taken the form of dispersing functions while effective control remains anchored in the Head Office. Hence, the central regulatory bodies determine the inspections and other ways of holding the performance of schools and teachers to account.

### Malawi:

Accountability in Malawi is highly centralised, as government retains control over the curriculum, examinations, inspection of schools and employees (Kumwenda-Phiri, 2001: 11; Nyirenda, 1995: 600). There is also feedback to government through regional offices, and politically where local committees / people feel they can approach their Member of Parliament. Schools report to local communities on small infrastructure projects that are funded by the community.

#### Uganda:

In Uganda, government schools are accountable to the government through district education officers, and to parents on small matters of discipline. Church schools are accountable to both the government and church founders, while private schools account to the founders. The Inspectorate is the principal arm of the Ministry of Education and Sports, responsible for monitoring educational performance, and advises the Ministry on ways to improve quality (Odaet, 1995: 1018). At the local level, a Regional Inspector of Schools heads each region and Inspectors are responsible for routinely visiting schools.

### ***3.9.5 Human resources / Manpower***

#### South Africa:

The governing bodies are empowered to recommend appointments of teaching and non-teaching staff to the Department of Education (Pampallis, 2000: 5). The government is committed to safeguard redress, reconstruction and development agenda through the equitable shares formula that prioritises poor and rural communities (Motala, 2002: 116). Therefore, the human resources distribution is mainly anchored through central bargaining traditions as a means to safeguard polarities in the system.

### Zimbabwe:

In Zimbabwe, staffing is centralised as it is operated at regional level, although it is being decentralised gradually to regions, districts, and schools (Gatawa, 1995: 1088). The largest percentages of teachers are civil servants, while private schools are free to hire additional teachers to improve teacher-pupil ratios. Teacher training is the responsibility of colleges of education and universities; part of in-service training is done through distance education and regional in-service provision.

### Malawi:

Recruitment in Malawi is organised through the Ministry of Education. Teacher Training programmes for secondary teachers are undertaken by the Universities and other institutions, while Primary Teachers are trained as a result of selection processes which go through the Ministry of Education. In-service is within the school, regionally organised or centrally organised by the Ministry of Education through projects and programmes.

### Uganda:

The government trains, recruits and pays teachers for government and church aided schools, through the Teaching Service Commission (Odaet, 1995: 1018). The non-teaching staff recruitment is undertaken by the schools and payment met through school fees. Private schools deal with their own human resource issues including salaries.

### **3.9.6 Summary of country examples**

From this brief selection of sub-Saharan countries several points can be made. Firstly, that there is a mix of modalities of decentralisation in most, although not all countries. Secondly, that the focus remains on the control and regulation of resource inputs rather than, as in some western countries, resourcing and accountability being determined by outcomes. However, thirdly a key feature of all these systems, in contrast to many western countries, is that in the state sector parents are expected to make some contribution to the education of their children. This is also a live issue in Botswana. But payment is not related to choice and therefore linked to state market systems of education. Finally, most of these countries also have a private and/or non-governmental sector. That decentralisation is a feature of many of these systems and especially in South Africa, suggests that Botswana is not alone in the region in seeking to explore greater decentralisation. In what follows an outline is given of the stage of decentralisation that Botswana is at. In Chapter 5, some of the problems with this model are identified by the stakeholders. Here only the formal structures are presented.

### **3.10 Decentralisation policy in the Botswana education system**

The education system has now begun to experience the problems of long distance management (Kgomanyane, 1995: 122). The decentralisation of some of the Ministry of Education's operations has been high on the agenda for current and future reforms. Hence, the process of decentralisation of the Ministry of Education has continued, and fairly senior officers placed in the field to enable effective decision making at the local level. It has been government policy that, as much as possible, the community should participate in the development and management of education, and such policy continuously encouraged through consultations of Boards of Governors, PTAs and other relevant bodies in the community (Republic of Botswana, 1994:11).

At the apex of the administrative structure is the Permanent Secretary, who is supported by deputies and heads of departments with designations such as directors depending on whether the main function of the department is professional or managerial (Kgomanyane, 1995: 123; also see Appendix). At the regions there are Chief Education officers who are the administrative heads, Principal Education Officers and Senior Education Officers (subjects), Inspectorate Officers, Management Advisors, and Support staff. The schools (mostly government-aided junior secondary) have Headteachers, Deputy heads, Heads of departments, senior teachers, and teachers. In addition to this there are Boards of governors, PTAs, school committees, and at times student councils and / or school prefect systems. Primary education has for a long time had a field-based team of professionals who perform the multiple role of supervising, advising, inspecting, and liaising with district councils and education secretaries, while secondary education (senior secondary inclusive) has begun to decentralise some professional services as well (Kgomanyane, 1995: 123). To some extent, decentralisation has been achieved in non-formal education as adult educators and literacy officers are spread around the country, while other departments with no field staff reach their institutions or clients through periodic visits (Kgomanyane, 1995: 123). However, more remains to be seen as to whether these establishments have worked, and if so, what sort of models are followed.

### ***3.10.1 The Current Model***

This section intends to look at the current models used in Botswana on funding, provision, governance, regulation (accountability and control), discipline, and human



resources (manpower) in the education system. This will provide essential background to the analysis of the stakeholders' views in chapter 6 and 7.

As for *funding*, the bulk of all funds going into education are provided by the central government (see table 3.1 below).

**Table 3.1 Unit Cost for Education (Pula, constant prices 1995/96)**

<i>Institution</i>	<i>1984/85</i>	<i>1989/90</i>	<i>1995/96</i>
Primary	501	552	826
Secondary (Total)	2299	2744	-
Junior Secondary	-	2537	1860
Senior Secondary	-	3282	2200
Teacher Education (Certificate)	4567	6447	7850
Teacher Education (Diploma)	-	-	7856
Non Formal	81	127	307
Brigades	3139	3264	5256
Technical/ Vocational	9916	9212	8189
University of Botswana	25352	24955	17374

*Source: Republic of Botswana (1997: 345) National Development Plan 8: 1997/98-2002/03.*

District councils receive a subsidy from central government to meet their financial commitments in respect of primary schools (Kgomanyane, 1995:123). Secondary schools, teacher-training colleges, and institutions offering vocational / technical education are fully government financed, except that Brigades (lower vocational/technical/ skills institutions) receive a grant per trainee (Kgomanyane, 1995:123). The government is not fully committed to funding pre-school education, and it remains the responsibility of councils, churches, the Red Cross and other donors. But,

the 1991-1997 National Development Plan 7 (NDP 7) acknowledges the government's commitment to develop a comprehensive policy on pre-school education (Republic of Botswana, 1994:7). All other schools prepare estimates and submit them to district schools (primary division) and the Ministry of Education (secondary), and receive bulk operational grants calculated per unit child (number of students). Parents contribute a little through a development levy. No child is excluded due to non-payment. Private schools fund themselves through heavy fees. The university receives a government subvention based on the difference between estimated total expenditure and total revenue from fees and other sources, and award bursaries to students they sponsor. The costs of training outside the country are borne by the government, and donor agencies offer scholarships in certain areas of training. Development funds come as loans from other institutions such as World Bank, the African Development Fund, United Nations, or in form of donations from the Swedish International Development Authority, the United States Agency for International Development, and several others (Kgomanyane, 1995:123).

The *provision* of education in Botswana is free, but not compulsory after junior secondary school. Admission to school is mainly on a catchment area (zoning) basis, but parents can seek transfer for their children to schools they want provided there are places available. Schools offer the prescribed National Curriculum, and students sit for national examinations. At senior secondary level students write the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Examinations (Republic of Botswana, 1994:10), but there have been moves to localise these examinations recently. Schools receive prescribed textbooks and material to choose from, but there is always room for supplementary materials. The average class size is 45 pupils per class, but could be 20-25 in private

primary schools, 40 in junior secondary, and 30 pupils in senior secondary (Kgomanyane, 1995:120). Students-teacher ratios are 32: 1 (primary), 26:1 (junior secondary), and 18:1 (senior secondary) (Kgomanyane, 1995:120). There is automatic promotion from primary to junior secondary even though students write examinations, but students have to pass examinations to get promotion to senior secondary schools.

As for *governance*, schools do have Boards and PTAs, as it has been government policy to encourage community participation through consultations in the development and management of education (Republic of Botswana, 1994: 11). These bodies are consulted to decide on the amount payable to the development fund, and mobilise the community in any form of contribution including school development projects (Republic of Botswana, 1967: 54). Schools have committees and student prefect systems.

Regarding *regulation*, the Ministry of Education is responsible for all professional aspects including the recruitment and salaries of teachers (Kgomanyane, 1995:122). Governors can only assist in school-based management. The Unified Teaching Service, now Teaching Service Management established in 1976, is the agency responsible for recruitment and employment of teachers for schools and colleges. The Director of the Teaching Service, 'shall be a public officer, who shall, subject to the directions of the permanent secretary to the Minister of Education, be responsible for the assessment and approval of teaching qualifications; conditions of appointment and terms of service; recruitment, posting, transfer and promotion of teachers' (Republic of Botswana, 1976; 62.3). The director may delegate recruitment of temporary teachers to head teachers and/ or regional officers responsible for supervision and administration of the school

(Republic of Botswana, 1976; 62.4). As for accountability, schools are accountable to headquarters on national examination and performance matters, but they report to boards, PTAs and community on school progress and internal examination results. Parents do receive pupils' progress reports on a termly basis. The Ministry publishes national results in the form of league tables.

As for *discipline*, the supervisory officer (headteacher and/or regional officer) follows the disciplinary procedures for teachers as prescribed in the Teaching Service Act, and if need be reports the matter to the Director of Education (Republic of Botswana, 1976; 62.10). As regards non teaching staff discipline, the board and the supervisory officer (headteacher and regional officer), advise the Director of Secondary Education on serious disciplinary matters of non-teaching staff (Republic of Botswana, 1976; 62.6). The school handles student discipline cases, but serious cases are referred to regions and in the end headquarters.

*Human resources* (manpower) provision and training is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, as the government is the financial provider in terms of pre-service training, in-service and recruitment (Republic of Botswana, 1976; 62.4; Kgomanyane, 1995: 126). The governing bodies assists with the recruitment of non-teaching staff.

### ***3.10.2 Possible plans for the future***

Botswana will soon have an examination body, called the Botswana Examination Council (BEC), with a semi-autonomous structure vested with authority and necessary powers to direct the various activities related to the running of national examinations

(Kgoroba, 2002: 2-3).

### **3.11 Conceptualising the process of decentralisation**

For this research to make a contribution to policy development in Botswana it is important that the steps and recommendations made as a result of this study are placed into a framework by which the key points of decision-making in the process of decentralisation are identified. What this enables is the identification of critical moments in decision-making where conflict may arise and where consensus is required in order for decentralisation to be taken forward. In the context of this research the scenarios developed for policy makers will enable the identification of where these key points of consensus and conflict are. For example, if there is considerable disagreement over, say, funding in one scenario and consensus in another then this may tell us which scenario, at least on this dimension, is most likely to achieve consensus.

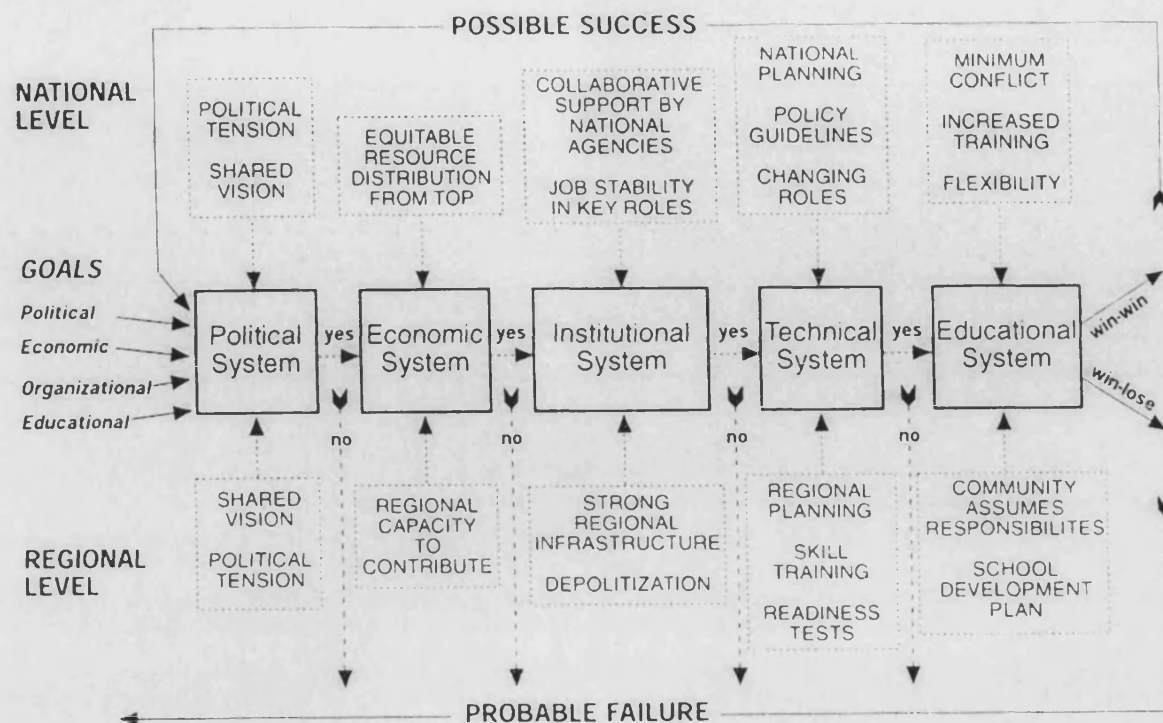
In these terms Hanson's (1998) emphasis on decentralisation as a process rather than an event is especially relevant.

#### ***3.11.1 Goals / categories directing decentralisation reforms***

For decentralisation reforms to succeed we need to know where the politicians and policy-makers want to go, and why (Hanson, 1998: 113). Just like in any reform, decentralisation initiatives have targeted goals that shape their strategies. Moreover, we can conceptualise critical moments or points in the process where there needs to be consensus, if the reforms are to succeed.

The conceptual model of the decentralisation process below (see figure 3. 1) shows four categories of goals (political, economic, organisational and educational) that contribute to directing the course of decentralisation. The goals are usually interrelated as they often shape the course of one another (McLean and Lauglo, 1985: 27). The explanation of how the conceptual model works is based on emphasising the notion that educational decentralisation is a process integrating the actions of numerous systems, institutions, activities and individuals at national and regional levels as shown in figure 3.1 (Hanson, 1998: 125). For an easier understanding, the model could be assumed to be a system of filtration. In this system the goals are fed into the filtration process and they pass through political, economic, institutional, technical, and educational stages. Those that pass through each stage (getting a 'yes') proceed to the next stage for more consideration or filtration. The ones that fail at each stage (getting a 'no') fall into the probable failure stream. This process continues until the final stage, and at this stage, the proposals that win national and regional support / interest (win-win) follows the possible success stream. Those that get national support / interest but fail to get regional support (win-lose) fall into the probable failure stream, and may be dropped or picked at a later stage for consideration.

A consideration of the following diagram of conceptual model by Hanson (1998: 114) may help (see Figure 3.1: Below)



**Figure: 3.1** *The Conceptual model of the decentralisation process*  
Source: Hanson, (1998:114).

The model shows that the success or failure of decentralisation initiatives depends on how well the various political, economic, institutional, technical, and educational systems respond to specific challenges and demands. At the political stage there is a need for a shared vision among the district centres of power that play a role in the reform (Prawda, 1993: 262), to allow the state to isolate and localise the sources of conflict, and insulate them from the rest of the system (Weiler, 1990: 39). These would include ministries of finance and education, the office of the president (where applicable), national, regional, and local governments, and even other organisations such as the Catholic Church.

The economic system stage is where the central government faces a challenge of having to equalise the distribution of educational resources between various regions. Demands are placed on the institutions within the system for collaborative support and job stability by the national agencies, linked to strong regional infrastructures. In this case, the ministry and regional education officials must have sufficient training, support, and job stability to carry out the decentralisation policy. Constant personnel changes and (Riddell, 1997: 193) politicised policy changes at this stage may regularly disrupt the planning and execution of the decentralisation process. The technical stage involves national planning, the production of policy guidelines and changing the roles of different officers and other stakeholders at national and regional levels. At this stage it has to be taken into account whether all regions of the country could begin at the same time regardless of readiness in the context of strong or weak infrastructures: a point of relevance in Botswana (see chapter 5). It is at this stage where the World Bank view that 'one size fits all' faces an uphill test. It is quite unlikely for all regions to be completely the same in terms of the above. Regions in Botswana are not the same in terms of readiness. The educational system requires minimum conflict, increased training and flexibility at national level. At regional level, communities assume responsibilities taken over from the centre.

As a result of this model, decentralisation processes may end in a situation whereby both national and regional participants view themselves as benefiting from the reform (win-win), and this would mean the conditions of success (but not guaranteed) have been created. The other possibility is that a situation may be created where the perception is that the national level benefits and the regions do not (win-lose), or even vice versa; then the probability of failure would exist. This complexity is a result of the



actions of different groups of social actors attempting to control education to serve their unique objectives; however, decentralisation changes the relationships between these groups, and it can change education (McGinn and Welsh, 1999: 21). This is how the conceptual model accounts for a decentralisation process in education.

In terms of this research, the themes are explored by focussing on questions concerning elements of each of Hanson's categories or boxes. So stakeholders have been asked to comment on issues at the national level of equity, job stability in key roles, national planning and the role of the centre in policy making and support for training. At the regional level stakeholders have been asked to comment on the regional capacity to contribute and support decentralisation, the regions' role in planning and skill training. All of these factors need to be combined in an understanding of the degree to which stakeholders share the political goals of a common vision. But in order to understand the nature of this vision we need to provide scenarios to focus stakeholders' understandings of the trade-offs and values presupposed by each scenario. Hanson's conceptual model, therefore, provides a guide to the process of decision-making but it needs to be supplemented by scenarios which make the focus sharper by asking stakeholders to make specific decisions about the trade-offs they wish to make and the values they support.

### **3.12 Summary**

This chapter has reviewed the extensive literature on decentralisation in order that the various types of decentralisation, their justifications and trade-offs could be explored. This has been necessary so that the empirical analysis can critically be understood in terms of the various underlying assumptions that inform the exploration of policies of

further decentralisation in Botswana. In addition brief country examples from sub-Saharan Africa have been given in order to place some of the issues raised in the Botswana context into the traditions and assumptions, which appear to be commonplace in a range of neighbouring countries.

## **CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This study has elements of a number of research approaches. It is a theoretical and comparative analysis that it is devoted to change in the macro policy arena. It is concerned to discover the views of key participants in the change process in order to make effective policy. The policy formation process is not linear (Ball, 1990) and if policies are to be successful they must be accepted and not subverted. This means that where possible decentralisation in Botswana needs to be based on consensus. However, consensus in itself is not necessarily an advantage especially when the experience of other countries suggests that policies adopted are likely to be flawed. This point raises the problem of how the comparative dimension to this project can be conceptualised. We have seen in the previous chapter that countries adopt different combinations of the key modalities of governance, funding, provision and regulation, reflecting their own histories, politics and particular problems. Therefore, this raises the question of how valuable comparative research is; can lessons in one country be transferred to another? In what ways can comparative research be used as a resource in the policy methodologists' armoury?

Comparative research may become relevant after the views of participants have been gathered. The topic, methods of data collection, analytical techniques, and styles of presenting findings reflect the pragmatic needs of stakeholders and policy demands. The researcher, therefore, needs to invent procedures grounded in practice in order to pursue the research.

In the following, the research strategy adopted will be outlined, starting with a description of the four phases of research. This is followed by a justification for the choice of the key stakeholders interviewed. Problems in interviewing the powerful are raised and addressed. The question of how consensus and conflict are to be conceptualised and analysed in the research is also outlined. This is linked to Hanson's model of the process of decentralisation presented in the previous chapter which provides the key dimensions on which stakeholders may be in agreement or in conflict. Finally, because this research involves a range of different approaches an attempt is made to conceptualise it as being a policy methodology analogous to action research in certain respects. (See the brief discussion of action research in section 4.6 of this chapter)

This study has two aims that have been highlighted in chapter 1: to provide policy guidance to Botswana government with respect to decentralisation; and concerned with the methodological alternative approach to the development of decentralising policies from the top down one size fits all approach. Hence, the thesis asks the following research questions:

- ◆ What are the aims of the educational decentralisation process in Botswana, have they changed over time?
- ◆ How far and in what ways has Botswana progressed with the decentralisation process in the education system?
- ◆ What are the problems / constraints encountered in the decentralisation process?
- ◆ Is there any vision / way forward for overcoming these problems/constraints?
- To what extent is there agreement as to the way forward?
- If there is not agreement on what issues do the fundamental disagreements occur?

## **4.2 The Phases of the Research**

The research is divided into four phases. In the first phase key stakeholders (see section 4.3) within the Botswana system of education were interviewed as to the success and failures of decentralisation so far. This was followed by an exhaustive analysis from which scenarios for decentralisation adopting different combinations of the key modalities are developed. The reasons for presenting these scenarios are twofold. Firstly, it is a way of focussing the views of stakeholders on how the many combinations of the key modalities might come together in a more concrete form. Secondly, they may crystallise points of disagreement or conflict. In the third phase (12 months after the first round of interviews) the key stakeholders were presented with these scenarios and asked to comment on them. The results of their comments were then analysed to see to what extent there is consensus as to the direction decentralisation should now take and where conflicts appear. The analysis is undertaken to see whether the conflict is caused by the different structural positions which stakeholders occupy within the educational hierarchy. For example, the interests of those at headquarters may be different to those at the regional or school level. Codd, Gordon and Harker (1997) have shown that decentralisation may result in power remaining at the centre while all the responsibility is assumed by the schools. If such an inequality is perceived as an actual or possible concern it might be expected that the views of those at the periphery (regions or schools) will be different from those at the centre. In addition, using Hanson's (1998) model of the process of devolution as a guide, these data can be examined to see to what extent there are disagreements within any or all the scenarios, which may threaten the decentralisation process.

In presenting these scenarios two broad questions are asked: to what extent respondents see these scenarios as desirable and to what extent feasible. The reason for asking these questions are that a rich understanding is required not only of whether a scenario is practical but also whether it is one that respondents may also be committed to. Without commitment, successful implementation may be threatened. Asking about the desirability of a scenario may also tell us about future thinking in that stakeholders may respond that one scenario is feasible and therefore desirable now but that it is a stepping stone to something more desirable.

There are two broad possible outcomes to the analysis of stakeholders' views:

- (i) that there is consensus on the scenario that is considered both desirable and feasible now.
- (ii) that there is not consensus. In which case the analysis should identify the key points of conflict that need to be resolved and the degree to which they are structurally determined.

Details of data collection and analysis in relation to the various phases are as follows:

#### ***4.2.1 Phase 1: Interview schedule: piloting and full-scale interviews***

A research schedule (see appendix: 3) was prepared, edited, trialled and used in the full-scale research where 18 key stakeholders were interviewed. The preparation followed a thorough consultation of the relevant literature, which helped in generating questions. One research colleague and two research experts in the Department of Education at the University of Bath assisted with the editing of the research schedule.

Three heads of secondary schools (1 senior School and 2 junior schools) were interviewed in the trialling exercise (see appendix 5 for the result) to build reliability and validity. Although there were minor alterations, the trialling helped enormously in the way questions were asked, seating plans, timing and voice. The end product of the interview schedule (same schedule) was used to interview all the 18 key stakeholders selected across the education system (see section 4.3). The interviews were conducted in English, which is an official language in Botswana and all stakeholders including parents (1 director in the public service and 1 chairman of the district farmers' union). On a few occasions some used Setswana to further clarify points, and in the end would repeat the points in English. This information was compiled and analysed, with the help of *NVivo* according to the headings and sub-headings as they appear in the research schedule.

#### ***4.2.2 Phase 2: Analysis of Interviews data and Development of the Scenarios***

There has been considerable development in the analysis of qualitative data using a variety of specially written computer programmes, and a dozen programmes are on the market or under development each with different characteristics and facilities (Lee and Fielding, 1991: 1). The use of computer programmes has the advantage of simplifying and speeding the mechanical aspects of data analysis while not sacrificing flexibility, hence allowing the researcher to concentrate to a greater extent on the more creative aspects of theory construction. Furthermore, the thinking, judgement, decision-making, and interpreting are still entirely the responsibility of the researcher (Tesch, 1991: 25-6). Computer programs only bring real benefits to qualitative researchers by making the work a lot easier, more productive and potentially more thorough (Lee and Fielding, 1991: 25).

Data analysis is one of the most crucial issues of any piece of research, but it is often possible for researchers to select inappropriate methods for this task (Borg and Gall, 1989). In this research, the data was analysed using the qualitative data analysis *NVivo* software package that also facilitated critical theoretical analysis of the different modes of decentralisation in Botswana and their desirability and feasibility. *NVivo* was used to generate a large number of different patterns on major issues and concerns and in relation to stakeholders' structural positions. Within *NVivo*, there are two modes of data analysis. The first is the 'textual phase' that focuses on the raw data and activities such as text segmentation, coding and memo writing. The second is the 'conceptual phase' which focuses on the framework building activities such as interrelating codes, concepts and categories to form theoretical networks. These two *NVivo* procedures are generally based on the principles of grounded theory generation (Fielding and Lee, 1998: 29). The *NVivo* software offers three systems for managing data in any projects (Richards, 1999: 12). The first involves *documents* in *NVivo* that are plain or rich text records that are made compound (composed of data that can be easily created or explored) if embedded in them are links to picture video, audio, spreadsheets, database, or other data items that a computer can handle. The second are *nodes*, which are containers in *NVivo* for categories and coding, that could be representing concepts, people, abstracts ideas, places and any other things that matter to the project. The third involves *attributes* of documents and nodes whose values could represent any interesting property. Attributes could be used to store information about any document such as gender or date or about the object, person or concept that a node represents (Richards, 1999: 13). Here, the data was analysed according to headings and subheadings of the interview schedule, looking for main themes and concerns, which



were the basis for the development of the scenarios. The scenarios were used in the next phase to explore further valuable information from the key stakeholders already interviewed, based on the modes of funding, provision, governance, regulation, discipline, and human resources (manpower). From these data, three scenarios were derived according to the following criteria:

- ◆ *Scenario one* reflected *neo-liberal theory*, and possibly the simplest and clearest scenario to provide a stepping stone for stakeholders to think about the various scenarios. It set the stage for questions that ask stakeholders about the feasibility and desirability of such a scenario (neo-liberal theory) in Botswana and in particular, why education should be left to market forces;
- ◆ *Scenario two* could be described as a *community/market* model of decentralisation, which has elements of a more fully decentralised system including aspects of choice;
- ◆ *Scenario three* could be considered a *state-guided* (half-way-house) model of a decentralised system.

#### ***4.2.3 Phase 3: Eliciting key stakeholders' views about the scenarios***

The scenarios were taken back to the key stakeholders for their views in order to help develop a blueprint for further decentralising the Botswana education system. It should be noted that this procedure of re-interviewing the stakeholders could also be seen as a measure of the reliability of the first set of interviews since their views could be tested for consistency with their previous comments. While some might change their minds

on a few issues, on most issues consistency could be expected unless there was some major social or economic change in the intervening period. This then introduced an element of rigour into the research (Sarantakos, 1998). The validity of the scenarios can be judged by the degree to which the stakeholders thought them appropriate by their responses. If a reasonable proportion of stakeholders thought them either desirable or feasible, then this would be an indication of their validity. The precise proportion would be a matter for debate. If on the other hand, respondents commented that a scenario was irrelevant or totally inapplicable then this would suggest a low degree of validity in reflecting their thinking on decentralisation.

#### ***4.2.4 Phase 4: Scenario data analysis***

The data were collected by using three sets of scenarios, derived from the first round of interview data and analysis that reflected different forms of decentralisation. The analysis focused on the key modalities of decentralisation defined in the previous chapter: funding, provision, governance, regulation, discipline and human resources. The first step involved a group analysis of stakeholders to see how group positions in the educational structure informed or determined their views. The second sought to establish the conditions necessary for successful devolution, the extent of unanimity of the scenarios or elements of scenarios, and conflict where it existed. In the third step the question was considered as to whether the scenario(s) thought most feasible and/or desirable could be validly compared with the experiences of other countries that had decentralised in ways similar to the favoured scenarios.

### **4.3 The Stakeholders**

The stakeholders interviewed comprised the Minister of Education, a Permanent Secretary and two Directors of divisions at the Ministry of Education, four Chief Education Officers out of the current five regions (2 rural and 2 urban), two Heads of Senior secondary schools (1 rural and 1 urban), two Heads of junior secondary schools (1 rural and 1 urban), two teachers of senior secondary schools (1 rural and 1 urban), two teachers of junior secondary schools (1 rural and 1 urban), and two parent representatives (1 rural senior secondary school and 1 urban junior secondary school). The researcher had intended to interview 20 key stakeholders but settled for 18 stakeholders because two schools did not have parent representative bodies at the time.

These eighteen stakeholders range across the various interests within the current education system. It can be argued that the sample is 'top heavy' in that the most powerful are represented (the Minister, a Permanent Secretary and two heads of divisions) as are the regions with four out of five Chief Education Officers included, while representation amongst schools and parents is more restricted. The sampling of stakeholders was a stratified type in terms of positions at headquarters, regions and schools. It is acknowledged that this under representation may bias the results. However, this research is a pilot in seeking to develop a particular methodology to guide policy. There were also practical constraints on the researcher's time. Interviewing more school personnel and parents across a country as large as Botswana would have been very time consuming. What was most important to the researcher was to gain a spread of opinion so that policy makers could have a clear sense of the issues and trade-offs in choosing a particular decentralisation path. In this way the research was meant to clarify and illuminate rather than to be representative.

Within this sample the points of consensus and conflict remain important. If, for example, it was to be found that stakeholders' opinions reflected their structural position within the educational system then it would be a reasonable assumption that a wider sample might also express opinions reflecting their structural position.

One of the acknowledged difficulties in undertaking policy research is that of gaining accurate and truthful opinions from the powerful (Walford, 1996). They may have their own agendas and seek to impress those on the researcher rather than represent what is really on their minds. Having four participants at the centre of educational policy making was very helpful. By checking their views against one another it was possible to see whether they were all expressing a 'party' line. In fact, their views diverged on several issues suggesting that they were not following a pre-arranged agenda.

A description and defence of qualitative study, especially interviews, is now in order.

#### **4.4 The qualitative approach to educational research**

According to Strauss and Corbin (1990: 17), a qualitative approach means 'any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of quantification'. This may refer to research about people's lives, behaviour, and stories, as well as their social movements, or relationships, and organisational functioning such as in education systems and school management. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) argue that:

Qualitative research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretative, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense out of or interpret phenomena in terms of

the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials, case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual test that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals lives (p.2)

The aim of the research is to build a complex, holistic picture, analysing words, reports detailed views of the informants, and by conducting the study in a natural setting (Creswell, 1998: 15). In this research the documentary analysis of reports is used as background for the two rounds of interviews. Since future directions, as regards decentralisation, have yet to be determined there is no documentary evidence available that the research had access to use as a form of cross reference and check on what policy makers said in the interviews.

However, the researcher is very much aware that qualitative methods have both advantages and disadvantages.

#### ***4.4.1 Advantages of a qualitative approach***

Qualitative research methods exemplify a common belief that they can provide a deeper understanding of social phenomena that would not be obtained from purely quantitative data (Silverman, 2000: 8).

The use of a qualitative strategy in the research gives the researcher a preference for naturally occurring data that is collected through observation rather than experiment, unstructured or semi structured rather than structured interviews. The focus on the meanings and attempt to understand the culture of those being studied predisposes

researchers to work as far as possible in natural settings (Denzin, 1971, cited in Vulliamy, et al., 1990: 11).

Qualitative strategies give the researcher a preference for meanings rather than behaviour, in attempting 'to document the world from the point of view of the people studied' (Hammersly, 1992: 165), as was the case in this study, when key stakeholders were interviewed by the researcher in person.

Qualitative research has an advantage as it gives preference for inductive, hypothesis-generating research rather than hypothesis testing (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, cited in Silverman, 2000: 8). That is instead of testing preconceived hypotheses, qualitative research generates hypotheses and theories from the data that emerge to avoid the imposition of a previous and possibly inappropriate, frame of reference on the subjects of the research (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978 cited in Vulliamy, et al., 1990: 11; Sarantakos, 1998: 46). This actually implies a greater degree of flexibility regarding the research design and data collection throughout the duration of the research project. This flexibility was central to this research in that it was structured by rounds of interviews in which the analysis of the first round of data led to the construction of scenarios in the second round. However, in contrast to Glaser and Strauss (1967) who argue that theories are derived inductively from the data alone, the analysis in this research used a framework which included the categories of the key modalities of governance, funding, provision and regulation and was also guided by Hanson's understanding of the processes of decentralisation.

Qualitative research rejects natural science as a model (Silverman, 2000: 8), as it is holistic, in a sense that the strategy would provide a contextual understanding of the interrelationships of causes and consequences that affect human behaviour (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984: 110). This would avoid the deliberative manipulation of variables (characteristics of experimental tradition of education research). The strategy can further avoid the study of attitudes or indicators as variables isolated from the wider totality, which is a characteristic of the survey tradition (Vulliamy, et al, 1990: 11 and 20). Another consequence of the holistic emphasis is that qualitative research tends to incorporate a wide range of specific research techniques, even within one research project.

Qualitative research is suited not only to studying action in context but to processes as well as outcomes. This strength is ideally suited to this research where the monitoring and probing of stakeholders' views is central to understanding the possible future directions of decentralisation. Regarding analysis, Denscombe (1998: 220-221) sees the advantages of qualitative analysis as: the data and the analysis are always grounded, the data is usually rich and detailed, there is tolerance of ambiguity, and contradictions; as well as the prospect for alternative explanations. These points apply to this study, where contradictions, tensions and trade-offs are central to analysing stakeholders' thinking about decentralisation.

#### ***4.4.2 Disadvantages of qualitative approaches***

A qualitative approach has disadvantages when it comes to data analysis which are mentioned by Denscombe (1998: 221-222) as: (a) *The data may be less representative*, as it becomes more difficult to establish how far the findings from the detailed, in-

depth study of a small number of instances may be generalised to other similar instances. Even if sufficient detail is given about the circumstances of the research, it is still not possible to gauge how far the findings relate to other instances, such generalisations as can be made are still more open to doubt than with well conducted quantitative research. (b) *Interpretation is bound up with the 'self' of the researcher*, because unlike quantitative research, qualitative research recognises more openly the researcher's own identity, background and beliefs, as having a role in the creation of data and the analysis of data. This makes the researcher self-aware, and the findings should be interpreted more cautiously since the research will operate on the basic assumption that the findings may, to some extent be a creation of the researcher rather than a discovery of the fact. (c) *There is a possibility of decontextualising the meaning* when coding and categorising the field notes, texts or transcripts, as there exists a chance that the words (or image for that matter) may be literally taken out of context. During the coding and categorising of the data, the meaning may be lost or transformed by wrenching it from its location such as within a sequence of data (interview talk), or surrounding circumstances which have a bearing on the meaning of the unit as it was originally conceived at the time of data collection. (d) *There is danger of over simplifying the explanation* when trying to identify themes in the data and to develop generalisations as the researcher may feel pressured to underplay, or possibly disregard the data that does not fit. Inconsistencies, ambiguities, and alternative explanations may inhibit a nice clear generalisation, and this can be very frustrating, although they are inherent features of social life.

Qualitative research has disadvantages with regard to *reliability* and *validity* issues. In the case of reliability which 'refers to the degree of consistency with which instances



are assigned to the same category by different observers or by same observer on different occasions' (Hammersley, 1992: 67), problems may arise in the study of unique events and contexts. However, as argued above, in this research the fact that stakeholders were interviewed twice gives us a way of measuring reliability to a degree. Even so when people's activities are tape-recorded and transcribed, the reliability of the interpretation of transcripts may be gravely weakened by a failure to notice apparently trivial, but often crucial, pauses and overlaps (Silverman, 2000: 10).

As regards validity, in the sense of asking the question do the methods adopted gain an accurate measure or understanding of what it is intended to measure or understand?, there are always problems about methods that involve the researcher as intermediary in asking the questions and equally there are doubts about the validity of explanations derived from the data, especially if alternative explanations are not considered (Silverman, 2000: 11). In this research the degree to which validity may be a problem can be judged, to a point, by the responses to the interview questions and scenarios, as outlined above.

#### ***4.4.3 Strengths and weaknesses of qualitative research***

The table below provides a comprehensive summary of strengths and weaknesses of qualitative research.

##### **Strengths:**

- ◆ Researching people in natural settings.
- ◆ Stressing interpretations and meanings.

- ◆ Achieving a deeper understanding of the respondent's world.
- ◆ Humanising the research process by raising the role of the researcher.
- ◆ Allowing flexibility.
- ◆ Presenting a 'realistic view of the world'.

Weaknesses:

- ◆ Problems of reliability caused by the possibility of extreme subjectivity.
- ◆ Risk of collecting meaningless and useless information.
- ◆ It is very time consuming.
- ◆ Problems of representativeness and generalisability of findings.
- ◆ Problems of objectivity and detachment.
- ◆ Problems of ethics (entering the personal sphere of subjects).

So far the general advantages and disadvantages of qualitative research have been discussed. In the next section the focus is specifically on the interview, since it is the major method for collecting data in this research.

#### **4.5 The advantages and disadvantages of interviews**

The interview is a flexible way of finding things out. The use of language is fascinating both as behaviour in its own right and for providing a virtually unique window on what lies behind our actions (Robson, 1993: 229). The interview is a kind of conversation; a conversation with purpose (Robson, 1993: 228). Interviews have a major advantage, 'a skilful interviewer can follow up ideas, probe responses and investigate motives and feelings which the questionnaire can never do' (Bell, 1993: 91).

The interview method for collecting data was selected because it was important to explore stakeholders' thinking in-depth and to be as clear as possible as to the meanings they ascribed to particular terms. As noted in the previous chapter concepts like decentralisation and devolution can have many meanings attached to them. The use of semi-structured (open-ended) interviews was preferred because a degree of comparability between the stakeholders was required in order to develop an understanding of their views as to the future directions of decentralisation. The interviews were sufficiently open to allow stakeholders to develop ideas and for the researcher to see how their ideas were part of a more holistic view of education in Botswana. In this respect, face-to-face interviews offer the possibility of modifying one's line of enquiry with follow up questions to interesting responses, and investigating underlying motives in a way that postal and other self administering questionnaires cannot. Non-verbal cues may give messages to help understand verbal responses, one may change or in extreme cases, reverse the meaning.

However, the flexibility of the interview calls for considerable skill and experience in the interviewer. Biases may creep in and the non-verbal cues of the interview may deter the interviewee who must trust the interviewer if they are to give frank answers to questions. In this case, the researcher is a senior educationist in Botswana and it was hoped that this would add credibility to his role as a researcher so that interviewees would be open with him.

#### **4.6 Situating the research**

There are at least three approaches to policy research: technicist, participatory and critical. Technicist research is developed by experts for the policy elite. It is often based on a positivist view of science in each guide to action and deduced from theories. The World Bank commitment to the privatisation and marketisation of education can be seen as being inspired by a deduction from the principles of neo-liberal economics. Since it was assumed that neo-classical theory was fundamentally correct in its assumptions, then applying the consequences of the theory in a one-size fits all manner appeared logical. In contrast to this technicist approach, a participatory approach acknowledges that people have different views on policy, depending on the context in which the policy is experienced. If a policy is imposed on them that they view as against their interests or values they are likely to subvert it. It is important, therefore, that a policy gains wide acceptance, if it is to be successful. A critical approach seeks to examine the assumptions underlying a policy, show how they are related to wider sectional interests, such as those of an elite or social class, and to expose them as an expression of the sectional interests of a minority which acts as a form of domination of the majority.

This research is about practice and how to improve it in relation to decentralisation. While it explicitly rejects the technicist approach with its 'one size fits all' consequences, it seeks to use comparative research and critique of underlying assumptions as a way of understanding the trade-offs involved in different scenarios. It is also participatory in that it sees consensus and the resolution of conflict, if at all possible, as central to good policy development and implementation.

In some respects this research shares similarities in approach with action-research.

Carr and Kemmis (1986) define action research as:

Simply a form of self-reflective enquiry undertaken by participants in social institutions in order to improve the rationality and justice of their own practices, their understanding of practices, and the situation in which these practices are carried out. In education, action research has been employed in school based curriculum development, professional development, school improvement programmes, and systems planning and policy development (p.162).

However, within this overall view three approaches to action research have been identified which correspond to the technicist, participatory and critical categories defined above. According to Zuber-Skerritt, (1996: 4-5), these approaches are: technical, practical and emancipating. Technical action aims to improve effectiveness of educational or managerial practice. The practitioners such as stakeholders are co-opted and the approach depends greatly on the researcher who acts as facilitator in implementing change. Practical action research also seeks effectiveness, but mostly geared for the practitioners' understanding and development. Here, the researcher's role would be to encourage practical deliberation and self-reflection by the practitioners, as it recognises that practitioners need to have ownership of improvements. In emancipating action research the aim is to transform existing boundaries and conditions because they impede desired aims and forms of improvement. Here the role of the researcher may be to identify what these boundaries are and to facilitate discussion of how they can be overcome.

In both the latter types of action research *ownership of the research* and social change are paramount. The partnership nature between the researcher and the researched 'need(s) to be worked out sensitively and carefully by partners to ensure that there are shared expectations about the nature of participation in action research' (Denscombe,

1998: 62). In this research, the attempt is to facilitate a critical and reflexive understanding of the possible consequences (trade-offs) of different forms of decentralisation that can be placed in the hands of stakeholders. As with action research reflexivity is paramount.

Therefore, this research, as with action research, addresses practical problems in a positive way by feeding the results of the research directly back into practice. Somekh (1995: 340) alleges that: 'the research directly addresses the knotty problem of the persistent failure of research in the social sciences to make difference in terms of bringing about actual improvements in practice'.

With the intention to improve practice, the results of the action research are often cyclical, because striving for improvement is seen by many practitioners (stakeholders) as an on going professional commitment (Bassey, 1996: 45). The researcher is fully aware of this cyclical process. In the policy arena Hanson's (1998: 114) decentralisation model (chapter 3) as a guide to understanding why decentralisation might succeed or fail could be seen as similar to the action research cycle in the sense that both stress the importance of process.

Action research entails intentions to change action involving people, as it would do in Botswana education policy, and it would be seen by all stakeholders to demand not only a strong ethic of respect for persons, but also the democratic involvement of people it impinges upon (stakeholders). This would call for the widespread ownership of data. In education action research is usually grounded in school and classroom practice, and does not have an established theoretical background which can provide a

framework for testing the validity of new findings (Bassey, 1996: 45). It is in this respect that action researchers see the importance of criticism as a way of testing whether findings represent what they purport to present. Action researchers always leave themselves open for criticism as they reckon to make raw data of their research available for criticism. This atmosphere allows for recycling, abandoning, and trading-off ideas. Again, there are similarities with this policy research. Here there are theories and comparative analyses that can be adopted against which policies can be tested but what is open is the context in which policies are implemented. A policy might work in one context but not in another. Therefore, even if there was consensus as to a blueprint for decentralisation in Botswana all stakeholders would need to be open to criticisms of it, since we cannot predict how it will impact on different stakeholders.

#### **4.7 The actual data**

The evidence of the actual data for pilot research findings and full scale research findings are attached as appendix 5 and appendix 6 respectively to assist the reader through the author's interpretation of the data. There is also backup actual data information that was tape-recorded during the data collection process that the author can produce. The scenario actual data is also attached (see appendix 7).

#### **4.8 Summary**

This chapter has outlined the methods used in this research and attempted to situate them more widely within a policy research context. The methods adopted are designed to guide practice but in ways which are participatory and critical. In these respects, there are some similarities between this approach and that of action research. This

approach can be contrasted with the technicist 'one size fits all' approach that has often been used to implement change in Africa by the World Bank.



## **CHAPTER 5: MAIN ISSUES ARISING OUT OF THE DATA**

### **ANALYSIS OF FIRST ROUND OF INTERVIEWS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter looks at the themes and major issues to have come out of the analysis of the data from the first round of interviews. The analysis raises important issues for the decentralisation of education and also provides the basis on which the scenarios will be constructed. We start with the respondents' views of the outcomes of decentralisation so far. This gives us a 'baseline' from which we can judge their responses regarding the issues that need to be addressed and their views as to the desirable and undesirable features of further decentralisation. The issues they identify that need addressing are categorised according to the key modalities of governance, funding, provision, regulation, human resources and discipline.

The data is reported by paraphrasing the views and comments of the stakeholders. What the *NVivo* programme facilitates is the establishment of patterns of views according to the different groups of stakeholders and this is the way the data are reported here.

#### **5.2 Effects of decentralisation**

Decentralisation may be a buzzword in most education systems, but the effect of the process may vary depending on context, and individuals' interests and perceptions. The Botswana education system has had limited decentralisation; what remains to be known is whether and in what ways the process has made an impact. This section intends to present the key stakeholders' perceptions on the effects of decentralisation in Botswana to-date.

### ***5.2.1 The broad changes made as a result of decentralisation***

We begin by documenting the broad changes that respondents identified as being of note in relation to decentralisation. For the codes used see the list of abbreviations provided at the beginning of this thesis. Schools and regions now undertake most of the teacher welfare issues (HqO2). Operational functions at primary level, such as school Inspectors, in-service education and non-formal education have moved to regional offices (HqO3). Regions cover the welfare of teachers and infrastructure, we now have senior staff at the regions and we will continue the struggle to support them (HqO4). Regions are given duties and decision-making powers, and we must decentralise the personnel as well, (CEO2). Teacher welfare issues, disciplinary cases up to referral cases, Education Officers (management and subjects), and school management advisors are now at the regional level (CEO3 and CEO4). Some areas are delegated and power deconcentrated such that most of teacher welfare issues are handled at the regional level (HS1, HS2). There are regional conferences, meetings for fertilisation of ideas, sporting activities, employment of temporary teachers, and some responsibilities on finance taking place at the regional level now (HJ1, HJ2).

Nine interviewees also talked about decentralisation to schools as well as to regions. Three headquarters officials said a number of functions in relation to primary and secondary education had been decentralised: payment processing, nominations for further studies and form one admissions (HqO1, HqO2, HqO3). Two regional officers noted that the regional level allows heads to handle financial functions for school projects up to P10 000 (CEO3, CEO4). [Ten thousand pula (P10 000) = approximately one thousand pounds (£1000) at the current rate].

In addition to decentralisation of some powers to schools, there had also been decentralisation in schools. One head said there are heads of departments and school management teams now in place, which enables responses on finance and transfer allowances to be processed by schools (HJ1). Three teachers said the processing of teachers' salaries (TS1), internal regional transfers and leave concessions (TS2) and employment of temporary teachers (TJ2) are conjointly processed by schools and regions.

Interviewees talked of the teacher welfare decentralisation progress. Two headquarters officials indicated that schools and regions now determine the deployment of teachers, and the processing of payment of teachers (HqO2 and HqO4). Two regional officers and three heads noted that the granting of study leave, maternity leave, the employment of temporary teachers, the promotion of teachers up to senior teacher grade 2, and acting appointments up to school head are now processed at the regional level (CEO3, CEO4, HS1, HS2 and HJ2).

Three interviewees talked about the impact of decentralisation on student welfare. Schools and regions now organise admissions according to catchment areas (HqO2) and student *lower level* disciplinary cases (CEO3). Sporting activities have been decentralised (HJ1). Schools and regions handle cases such as students' truancy up to less than twenty consecutive days in one academic calendar year; misbehaving, minor theft and class disorderliness can lead to 40 minutes maximum exclusion from class. Any other form of *higher level* student discipline that includes exclusion and expulsion, and criminal cases, are handled by headquarters as per Head and Regional Officers'

recommendations. Lower level teachers' discipline such as verbal and written rebuke are handled by schools and regions, but most of other forms of teacher discipline are handled by headquarters (attribute this to relevant persons).

If these are the major factors in decentralisation, what are the problems so far?

### ***5.2.2 The problems of decentralisation***

Some interviewees mentioned continued centralism as part of the problem. The Education Act and the Code of Regulations are still centralised and in full use, and they conflict with the decentralisation process (HqO1). The regional office is there, but still has to follow the centralised system, because power has not really come to the regions yet (CEO1). *More serious* disciplinary cases for students take too long to be settled because of centralism (CEO3). Restrictive centralised financial regulations constrain schools (HS1). The regulations demand that headquarters gives the final say on teacher and student discipline and conditions of service for the support staff (HJ1). Regional Offices have problems in administering and maintaining the personnel because of insufficient power (TS1). TJ2 said that the regulations offer prescribed policies and duties, and which they were expected to follow rather than meeting the needs of the community. Regulations expect parents to follow a long route to headquarters especially on discipline cases and this makes it difficult for the head to operate (PS1 and PJ1).

A group of interviewees thought the decentralisation process had created disparities between urban and rural areas. There has been resistance by Education Department officers at being transferred from urban to rural areas (HqO2), and the lack of facilities is even worse in rural than urban areas (HqO3) while regions around the capital are

better off than other regions (CEO2). CEO3 said that, instead of having experienced professionals in the regions there are new officers, which is an indication of lack of support from headquarters. There is a shortage of manpower at regional offices (HS1), which is a problem of urban versus rural preferences, and consequently urban areas benefit much more (HS2 and HJ1).

Five interviewees were more emphatic that there had been no progress on key dimensions of decentralisation. Not much has happened. All decisions are still taken centrally. Regional offices are only meant to collect data for headquarters (CEO1). A major part of the system is still centralised (HS1). There is no decentralisation in policy, most of the decentralisation processes are not yet complete (HJ2). Very little has happened (PJ1).

Implementation is still a problem (HqO3). CEO4 noted that, we don't have knowledgeable manpower to perform the implementation. For example, some of the school heads cannot implement. HS1 commented that, grading of posts is very centralised, such that regions cannot recruit whenever they deem it fit for the implementation process. The Ministry of Education has to justify the post before recruitment can take place. While HqO2 observed that, on promotions we still follow the old system; however, we are hoping for more decentralisation on this one to come. Teachers also had a view on this. The process needed experts to clarify certain areas of the process and advise the implementers at the initial stage and do the piloting before implementation (TS2). Decentralisation was rushed into before planning (TJ2).

At times decisions take too long, because of uncertainties (HJ1), and procedures to be followed, such as financial returns, are prepared at the school, then taken to the regional offices, then to the Secondary Department [at headquarters] and in the end the Ministry of Finance (HJ2). There are a lot of delays due to the novice personnel, while some officers at headquarters are left with very little to do (TJ1). Delays may be caused by ignorance / uncertainties and for the sake of transparency in management (PJ1).

### **5.3 Specific themes relating to concerns with the decentralisation process**

A series of specific themes were identified as causing concern amongst participants, which echoed some of the thoughts above but extended them. These were: (i) equity and standardisation; (ii) corruption and nepotism; (iii) resistance to change and the desire to retain power by those that had been power holders under the old system; (iv) problems of inadequate training, (v) lack of appropriate staffing and (vi) problems of communication and clarity of roles.

#### ***5.3.1 Equity and standardisation***

Interviewees raised the issue of equity in terms of the uniformity needed to ensure that all were treated fairly. The downside of the reforms could be lack of uniformity (HqO1). 'Basically we are a small system and we need uniformity and we need to move together as one' (HqO2). There is a need for the same type of education due to equity and that is why we offer the national curriculum (CEO1), and we need some commonality/uniformity in certain areas in the system; under decentralisation co-ordination and monitoring of government implementation [to ensure uniformity] might become difficult (CEO3). There must be policy co-ordination, uniformity and consistency to avoid each region operating differently, and we need to keep some

aspects centralised to cope with globalisation/standards (CEO4). That is why we have co-ordinated activities and for purposes of equity, the national formula must apply (CEO3). Furthermore, there might be lack of uniformity due to variations according to regions because some regions are better staffed, have more facilities and are stronger (CEO4). There might be inconsistency because there would be varied actions taken [between regions] (HS1). There is a need to keep monitoring centralised for the sake of uniformity to avoid differences in the interpretation of the policy and in the light of the centre still fumbling, we cannot fully move into another phase of development (HS2). A junior school head suggested that because of globalisation, we needed to meet international standards, which required a degree of national uniformity (HJ1). We cannot decentralise fully, therefore, because of the need for uniformity (HJ2).

### ***5.3.2 Corruption and nepotism***

The views under this subsection are to do with cultural preconditions for decentralisation that reflect the general commitment to meritocracy. The researcher recalls that centralised bureaucracies, historically, were specifically designed by the state (Green, 1990) to reduce nepotism and corruption, and introduce meritocracy. However, decentralisation can in theory place greater power in a greater number of hands without necessarily the tight control that might be expected in a centralised bureaucracy, especially if transparent systems of accountability have not been fully operationalised. The question was whether meritocracy, as a principle, had been sufficiently embedded in the education service in Botswana so that corruption would not be a corollary of decentralisation. Here there were concerns.

The downside of the reforms could be the abuse of power (HqO1). Things might be done out of personal interest, because people in the regions would know each other, and there could be a possibility of isolated cases of nepotism and favouritism (HqO2). In essence being at the regions should not disadvantage officers but again there may be nepotism as officers and seniors at the regions and schools would know teachers (HqO2). We know each other and this may stand as a downside due to the possibility of corrupt practices or personal hatred (CEO3).

One head (HS1) said power might be misused. Therefore, for him staff recruitment must be centralised to avoid abuse; at the moment it should only apply, at the region and school level, to temporary teachers (HS2). One teacher (TS2) emphasised the possibility of hatred and abuse of power in the process. Hence, corruption and nepotism regarding promotions, confirmation of teachers' transfers, leave processing and leave for further studies might come into play (TJ2). In terms of promotions, some people may never get those because of favouritism / nepotism as a result of decentralisation and again there is a possibility of power being abused (TJ1). There may be favouritism in progression when dealing with promotions and further studies (PJ1).

### ***5.3.3 Resistance to change and retention of power***

The decentralisation process may meet some resistance, and one example is when senior policy makers / bureaucrats seek to retain power. Some may resist because their individual or affiliation interests may be threatened by the decentralisation process. Or as is apparent from the responses below, there is a combination of the force of custom and habit and fear of taking responsibility that may discourage actors from relinquishing or, in fact, taking power. The fear of taking power is a problem throughout the system



and raises questions from the literature about the need to change personality types as well as structures when moving from a centralised to a decentralised system.

Interviewees talked about change as a problem in schools emanating from the decentralisation process. At the regions, people find it difficult to accept decentralisation because they are still holding on to the old system believing that headquarters are in the best position to make decisions (HqO2). Schools have problems in changing the attitudes of teachers and communities to commit to the decentralisation process (HqO3). Again the change creates a problem of having to set up a new institution in terms of regional operations (HqO4).

At the regional level officers felt that power was not being decentralised either because the centre did not want to relinquish it, for whatever reason, or because there were insufficiently skilled personnel to take the power and implement decentralisation. As CEO1 put it, the regional office is there, but we still have to follow the centralised system, because power has not really come to regions yet. This was echoed by CEO2; people may be having problems by holding on to power or just forgetting that we have to decentralise (CEO2) or officers are just hesitant to lose power (CEO3). The complexity of what decentralisation involves also concerns legal challenges about which there is less expertise in the regions. As CEO3 observed: The Education Act creates problems in the decentralisation process, because the legality issues surrounding delegated functions are open to a lot of challenges (for example teacher transfers). People are still used to communicating with headquarters not regions and most cases are still referred to headquarters (CEO4). At least one Head also thought there was a marked reluctance by power holders to relinquish their power; some stakeholders still

hold on to power such that power is not released, and have a lack of trust and still believe they can perform (HS1).

The problem of committing to the new system was seen by some as directly related to having the appropriately trained individuals with the skills, initiative and motivation to make decentralisation work (CEO3 and CEO4).

Heads also thought that they were not immune from these problems. They said that they were not well orientated to the process and that is why people are still sceptical about change, as they believe headquarters are the best (HS2). People do not trust the changed structures, as they still believe the Ministry headquarters can solve problems better (HS1). This develops the attitude to believe that regions are not capable (HS2). There is a negative attitude of the people in the regions towards this new change (HS2). At the school level the staff has not been adequately prepared for a change, as they are not confident and 'we are not ready to accept the process at schools' (HJ1). This junior head was very candid in view; 'as a school head I don't want to share power. If I have to share power I cannot control. I am very hesitant' and the Ministry is too hesitant to release power on finance (HJ1). It may be for this reason that there is a 'feedback loop' involved here where the Ministry realises that some heads do not want to take the power and so headquarters takes it back. As another junior head observed 'decentralisation is a new process, and depending on the issues, headquarters still handles most of them' (HJ2).

One parent summed up these views as follows:

Heads are too protective and self-conscious, having a fear of being exposed and losing their jobs. This is why they cannot share power and decentralise. Heads lack confidence in others. This is why they get a lot of pressure from the juniors. People are not allowed to participate in things like timetable preparation. The local teachers are still not taken as able people. For example in computer studies, jobs are always assigned to foreigners (PJ1).

Interviewees talked about power and authority as problems they are faced with in the system. 'Even though government has decided to decentralise, people are still resistant, as they are not ready to lose power at the centre and some officers are too selfish and they do not want to decentralise or share power' (HqO1). 'People have reluctance tendencies not to lose some power' (HqO2), 'so, I have a problem with things that are to be done' (due to resistance to change and retention of power) (HqO4).

The view that power had not percolated through the system was keenly felt by teachers. As TS1 noted, officers at the headquarters are still holding on to power and they think they can still perform better than the regions. TS2 observed that headquarters' officers have difficulties in decentralising some of the areas such as student and teachers expulsions, they are very much hesitant to decentralise some of the areas. He also insisted that heads and regional officers must be empowered to handle salary issues. TJ1 said 'yes, I get enough power when supervising (on duty), but, I have less power on students' discipline' (TJ1). Equally one parent felt that they too were not sufficiently empowered: There should be more empowerment not only to the chairperson, but other officers, as there is lack of empowerment on PTAs at the moment (PS1).

#### ***5.3.4 Problems of inadequate preparation and training***

Six interviewees indicated lack of knowledge as one of the problems faced by the Botswana education system. Here, the lack of skilled personnel in intermediate and senior positions had meant that younger teachers were being promoted without sufficient skill or experience. As CEO3 put it, instead of having experienced professionals at the regions we have new officers. And CEO4 added, this poses a lot of problems because teachers are not very experienced yet they still get appointments to move up the ladder. Some heads also acknowledged the problem. Schools are not well equipped with knowledge (HS1). There is lack of knowledge to benefit the process (HS2), because 'we decided to run before walking' and that is why 'subject specialists were then immediately turned into inspectors with less knowledge about the job' (HJ2). As did teachers. We don't have knowledgeable manpower to perform the implementation. Some of the school heads cannot implement and there is need for more personnel, and training (TS1). The lack of knowledge of officers and novice personnel who are to carry out duties causes a lot of delays and as such, people lose confidence in these officers (TJ1). One parent indicated that there is lack of knowledge on the side of the parents (PS1).

Respondents also noted the lack of planning through in-service training to put adequately prepared people into decision-making positions. CE02 said, there is lack of competency due to lack of training and staff development. There could have been a comprehensive plan with trained people posted first. The consequence, as one junior school head observed, was that the staff were not adequately prepared for a change and they are not confident (HJ1), a point echoed by a teacher. People just receive letters of appointment yet are not trained for the job (TJ1). One parent stated manpower shortages

and resistance to change due to poor preparation and training. Regions lack facilities (computers) and even when they are available, there are illiterate personnel there (PJ1).

#### ***5.3.5 Lack of staff and funding***

A corollary to the lack of sufficiently trained administrators is the staff shortages in schools. As relatively inexperienced staff are promoted up the administrative ladder so gaps appear in schools. HqO2 and HqO4 noted that, posts at schools remain unfilled for too long, as it is difficult to get the qualified and experience people. His colleague made the point that schools don't have enough qualified and experienced staff, and as a result there are just too many early appointments (HqO3). Regions are to be provided with additional manpower, but there are not subject specialist education officers in the regions (HqO2).

Three of the Headquarters respondents were again candid in their appraisal of progress so far. There is too great a manpower shortage for effective decentralisation, and 'we are not allowed to recruit for new posts' (HqO2), and, we lack the professional administrators and support staff in the regions (HqO3). The reforms have limitations imposed because of lack of manpower (HqO4).

This view is shared throughout the system. All the regional officers (CE01, 2,3 &4) interviewed agreed. They noted that even though schools have been given the authority to recruit in principle, there were problems with vacant posts in key positions such as heads of departments (CEO2 and CEO4). Some Heads shared the view (HS1, HS2, and

HJ1) with the consequence that the Ministry of Education finds it so difficult to decentralise (HJ2). Teachers also agreed. We need more offices, funds and personnel at the schools and regions (TS2). The Ministry of Education does not have enough personnel at headquarters, regions and schools (TJ1) and most particularly at the Ministry headquarters (TJ2).

Schools lack teachers while there is an increase in the intake (TS1), there is lack of knowledgeable manpower (teachers) (TS2). The same point is made at the junior secondary level. There are always not enough staff, while there are just too many students to handle, and too many new subjects introduced (TJ1).

The problem of staff shortages is reflected in a lack of resources devoted to effective decentralisation. Ten interviewees talked about the financial problems faced by the Ministry that arise from decentralisation. These were not at the headquarters levels but at those beneath it. The regional officers noted that more money needed to be spent, because the funds available were not sufficient to support the infrastructure and therefore acted as a major constraint on the reforms (CE01, CE02 and CE03).

The Heads were more concerned with the bread and butter issues for which there was never enough money. Money is never enough, special need students are not catered for, and permission has to be sorted with the headquarters for special requests (HJ1). There are problems of repairs (constructional repairs) as staff houses and student dormitories need urgent repairs, but there are not enough funds (HJ2). Teachers concurred. The reforms are limited by funding (TS1); there should be more funds at the schools and regions (TS2). There are not enough funds to run the show (to decentralise) (TJ1).

Parents felt that inadequate funding led to delays and cost cutting. Due to inadequate finance, the Ministry opens two offices instead of three and planned projects are always moved forward (PJ1). We always opt for what was not planned (PJ1).

#### ***5.3.6 Problems of communication and lack of clarity in roles***

Six respondents from across the education system acknowledged problems of communication as a result of decentralisation. HqO3 stated bluntly that there are no clear lines of communication. HqO1 agreed; consultation is a problem as well because the community needs to be informed to avoid believing that headquarters is still the best at making decisions. HJ2 confirmed this view; it is necessary to have enough consultation on matters related to policy change and enough consultation was never done. Regional officers, teachers and parents concurred: people are still used to communicating with headquarters not regions to an extent that most cases are still referred to headquarters (CEO3). Communication is poor due to the vastness of the regions (CEO4 and TJ2). One parent said I have got no idea regarding the problems faced by the Ministry of Education as we haven't received any information yet, there are problems of distance which causes a lot of delays in responding (PS1). Therefore, some regions have no phone facilities such that communication becomes a problem (PJ1).

Parent PS1 made several further telling comments: I don't know, and I cannot blame the Ministry, region or the school. We don't get enough reports on what is happening. Maybe as parents we are partly to blame because we fail to participate in meetings. Again, some parents are very far away, so it is difficult for them to attend PTA meetings in order to see the teachers and students frequently (PS1).

In addition to poor communications, there are also problems concerning clarity as regards the roles individuals have within the new system. As HqO3 commented, regions have a problem of effectively integrating community and local authorities such as officers, chiefs and tribal authorities to work together for the sake of the process. This creates conflicts at times. All stakeholders ought to understand their duties and responsibilities. The lesson he drew from this was that there is a need to clarify the division of duties and defined roles between headquarters and regions, to avoid things being thrown off balance. Decentralisation must be everybody's job, if people don't know their roles there is bound to be a lot of confusion (HqO3). One policy maker even acknowledged a lack of clarity in understanding his own role: 'I have a problem with those things that are to be done' (HqO4).

Regional Officers, Heads and Teachers tended to agree. In schools there is also a lack of clarity of roles or job descriptions and there is resentment at the lack of professional commitment (CEO3). Some people are not conversant with what should go on (HS2). This lack of clarity impinges on the dissemination of ideas because time is spent on coming to terms with the specific roles people find themselves in. HJ1 had observed that cross fertilisation of ideas is limited at national level as everyone focuses on his / her area of management (HJ1). This view concerning the lack of clarity extended to teachers; there is need for clarity on duties and roles to be performed by different officers (TS2).

The consequence of poor communications and lack of clarity of roles was that, as one regional officer put it, schools have big problems because the route for issues to be



settled is even longer now, as cases have to be routed through the regional office to headquarters (CEO1). Decentralisation brings the problem of having to deal with different authorities, since schools fall within different councils such that one officer might be supporting schools falling in three to four different district councils (CEO4). There are too many arms for the Ministry of Education which do not understand what each other is doing and there is no co-ordination between departments (HS1). The elite from the community want their ideas implemented (HJ1). One teacher (TJ1) said; 'some officers at headquarters are left with very little to do' due to multiple structures.

What is significant about these views is how much agreement there is throughout the system. Not all interviewees spoke to each of these issues but there was concern from within all groups of stakeholders about issues of equity, corruption and nepotism, power and resistance to change, the lack of preparation and training and poor communication and the lack of clarity of roles within the new system. The latter three were related for many interviewees. The issue of power is complex because it might be assumed from neo-liberal theory and public choice theory that power holders at the centre were simply reluctant to give up power but it may be that their initial impetus to give up power was blocked by the realisation that there weren't sufficiently skilled individuals within the system, although in contrast to those 'beneath' them the headquarters policy makers did not comment that there were insufficient funds. In one case it seemed that a policy maker's role was less than clear thus making the issue of power transference even more complicated, at least for him. A further issue relates to a gap in the literature. One of the key concerns expressed was that there was a shortage of *appropriate* manpower in that many in the system were reluctant to exercise the initiative and trust required to make decentralisation work. It is a case of a new system requiring new men and women or at

least changes in their behaviour. In the next chapter we will see that the policy makers have quite a clear idea about what they ought to be doing but whether it can be achieved is in question when looking at this set of concerns. Indeed, if these concerns were to be widely held throughout the system, then it raises a question about the future prospects for further decentralisation.

Having established respondents' views as to the problems and constraints involved in decentralisation to date we now move to look at what they see as the potential advantages and disadvantages of decentralisation. Despite the present difficulties some saw advantages of great decentralisation while others were more sceptical. We start with an exploration of stakeholders' views as to what they understand by decentralisation and its advantages.

#### **5.4 Views on decentralisation**

As Botswana we started from villages. Therefore, decentralisation process is meant for empowerment of people at the village (PS1).

Decentralisation 'removes the running of education from headquarters to districts and regions' (HqO4), it brings functions to the people or clients and schools (CEO4). It takes decisions to the grass root level, where key issues are dealt with (HS1). It de-concentrates decision making power to other people or stakeholders (TS1) and gives certain duties to regions and schools (TJ1). Decentralisation develops the attitude of sharing of authority (CEO4) and empowers all stake holders, when the central government realises that things cannot be done from the central point / headquarters (HS2). It means empowerment of people at the site (TS2), and headquarters does not deal with all the issues (TJ2) and in a way empowering parents and other stakeholders

(PS1). It reduces bureaucratic hierarchy; and instead of following certain procedures to the centre (headquarters), things are done at the regions (PJ1). Decentralisation has an advantage as it empowers people at the site to take/make decisions on the spot (TS2).

The rationale would be to empower the lower staff and create workable structures that are more effective for service delivery (HqO3). Decentralisation gets people to participate in policy formulation and make them aware that their contributions are crucial to attain quality services and effectiveness (HJ1).

It is interesting that there may be divergences in views here. HqO3 sees the rationale as largely about more effective service delivery, while HJ1 sees it as involving participation in policy making. These may be *two quite different models* of decentralisation, which is why these views need to be clarified through the analysis of different scenarios.

This process of empowerment is also seen as a way of energising educational workers: the process motivates those empowered (HS2), makes them participate and contribute to the learning process (HJ1).

Three headquarters officials saw this process of empowerment as central to the success of the reforms, saying that they wanted authority to be de-concentrated and services taken nearer to the people (HqO2); as such decentralisation would provide effective co-ordination and service delivery (HqO3), and remove hardships and inconveniences caused by distance and delays (HqO4). Two regional officers felt services would be nearer to the people and there would be speedy implementation of government policy

(CEO3), and there will be more staffing at the regions and teachers easily helped well (CEO4). Issues would be handled on site (HS1), as more offices would be closer to the remote areas and make communication easy (TS2). A parent felt reforms would avoid delays in providing faster responses (PJ1). One parent (PJ1) mentioned that decentralisation allows room for involvement of other stakeholders.

Heads and teachers saw decentralisation as having a direct impact on effectiveness of schools. The forms of decentralisation would allow smooth running of the schools if fully implemented (HJ2). More power should be devolved to schools, such that heads should devolve more power to the heads of department then to the teachers, to have more power and collective responsibilities (TS1). Heads could deal with staff employment, finance management, promotions, and schools could handle class allocations or student-teacher ratios (TJ1).

All these views as to the advantages of decentralisation, in principle, follow the views expounded in the literature. The idea of the importance of grass roots decision-making, the motivation aspects and that of common ownership all come through.

We now look more closely at the views of stakeholders concerning the key modalities of governance, funding, provision and regulation.

#### ***5.4.1 Governance: Authority and decision making***

Fifteen interviewees saw the regional office as central to the next step in decentralisation in relation to governance. However, the issue of governance was tied in respondents' thinking tied to the specific functions that the regions would take on. On

the one hand, respondents talked about the prospect of regions being more empowered (HqO3). On the other they talked about specifics, suggesting that rather than devolution to regions or schools where autonomy was exercised through, for example, elected boards, they saw the regions as having more power within a hierarchical system. This issue is interrogated and clarified further in the next chapter where scenarios are put in which respondents have the option for a more devolved rather than decentralised system.

The following comments are all of a more specific kind. Regions could handle payments, promotions and upgrading staff (HqO2, CEO1), regions should be provided with facilities and professional advisors (CEO2), and regions would address quality provision (CEO3). Regions would be better staffed and teachers more supported, while teacher and student discipline, teachers' progress and transfers would be mostly done by regions and schools.

It is clear from the above that governance is not something that respondents' have thought about in detail and this may be because there is still a mind set which sees the education system as hierarchical so that what decentralisation means is just pushing some of the decision-making 'down the line'.

#### ***5.4.2 Funding***

When considering current funding constraints and how decentralisation might address them, the first and clearest issue that emerged concerned the question of who should control the funding. As we have seen from the country examples in Chapter 3, many African countries expect parents to make some contribution and this is an issue that is

alive amongst these stakeholders. Fifteen interviewees mentioned *government or free education* as a problem that relates to the funding of education. As Hq02 observed, parents have developed dependency syndrome, and at the moment we are still grappling with ways of policy to make foreign students to pay fees. Students' discipline and vandalism has worsened because everything is government supply. In this view he is supported by Hq03; current government funding is not sustainable, creates budgetary constraints and has made the national principle of self-reliance disappear, hence a need for co-funding. And (Hq04) parents are now very complacent and have withdrawn from being responsible for student learning. Decentralisation for these policy makers, therefore, also includes an element of decentralisation of funding and for reasons of motivation and commitment as well as the need to raise more funds. Here, they are operating on a theory of motivation, which is close to neo-liberal orthodoxy. But the regional officers also hold this view. Funding that is wholly done by the Ministry of Education has caused parental withdrawal and there is need for decentralisation on finance matters such as salaries and school finance (CEO1). But 'education is expensive', therefore parents should be asked to play a part such that some aspects like boarding are cost-effective; furthermore, free education causes a big influx of foreign students who benefit from the local taxpayer (CEO2). The Ministry of Education takes a lion's share from the government budget (CEO4).

Some Heads, teachers and both parents shared these views. Funding has produced a negative aspect, because parents are not effectively involved in the learning process, children do not care, there is no motivation or incentives and books are not taken care of (HJ2). Government is the main provider, and this creates lack of responsibility from students and teachers, and lack of parental involvement (TS2). Both parents said that

parents have withdrawn their responsibility, and there is no per course expenditure (money per subject).

The contrary view was put by HqO1 who noted that the Ministry of Education (government) gives all the necessary money, which is fine, as some people believe the government should offer free education. It is only a hope that if parents pay school fees they would participate more in the system.

Heads had a different focus looking at the problems and inefficiencies that a highly centralised system of funding posed for them. Heads follow prescribed allocations and seek permission from headquarters to vire money, and it is difficult when financial regulations are [so] strict and centralised (HS1). Estimates prepared by heads are not related to allocation, instead headquarters uses a different formula that creates disparities in the funding of senior secondary, community junior secondary, and even primary schools, but more empowerment is needed on finance at schools and regional levels (HS2). Money is never enough, special need students are not catered for, permission has to be given from the headquarters for special requests, but schools are unique. Therefore, strict finance and material regulations in general need to be loosened (HJ1). One teacher also took this view; to raise standards the cost must increase, estimates that are submitted yearly seem to have no effect, while heads of departments are constrained by decisions taken from the upper offices (TS1).

One policy official was against extensive de-centralising of funds; resource allocation needs headquarters to provide uniformity, equitable distribution of resources, and

deployment of teachers (HqO2). A regional officer took a similar view advocating reform to the current highly regulated funding model by suggesting that:

The way education is regulated has to be like that, because government is funding education. Education has to be regulated that way to satisfy the needs of the nation. However, most of the regulations need to be reviewed to fit the present (they are outdated) (CEO2).

#### **5.4.3 Provision**

Thirteen people mentioned teachers as a key issue surrounding the provision of education. The issues of shortages of staff and skills have already been discussed but in the minds of some stakeholders decentralisation was also related to flexibility in curriculum provision and changes in pedagogy:

We are trying to decentralise to empower teachers, such that teachers and heads are empowered to consider the curriculum according to the local needs (HqO3).

Teachers need to be empowered, to deal with issues as they see fit (HqO4). CE04 claimed that there has not been enough change from teacher- to student-centredness, most teachers still lecture instead of facilitating but, as we shall see, in contrast to others he does see that major changes are required to the national curriculum to effect changes in pedagogy.

Three heads indicated that autonomy in the teacher's role is currently not given due consideration, as they are expected to follow prescriptions.

This inflexibility mean that heads could not recruit teachers to fit into their particular schools' ethos. As HJ1 noted, there are a lot of restrictions even on purchasing of material and the types of teachers you get, and heads are given teachers rather than



choosing them. In this thinking there is a link between lack of choice that Heads have and the lack of autonomy that teachers can then exercise. However, one parent hinted at a much more radical approach to de-centralisation that might create greater flexibility but also payments by results:

Methods of teaching / delivery are a problem, especially when it comes to student-teacher involvement, that requires initiative from students and teachers. Teachers' payments still come whether they produce or not. So, there is a why-worry attitude (PJ1).

The lack of autonomy for Heads and teachers was also related to the National Curriculum. Eleven interviewees saw the national curriculum as one of the problems in the provision of education because it is centrally prescribed (CEO1). More is based on the national curriculum and less on the local interest, because 'we travel by train' (HqO2). The issue of flexibility in curriculum provision centred on two, possibly related, concerns. The first was that as more students entered the system so the ability range had been extended and the national curriculum was seen to address a narrow band of student ability. The second was that it did not address regional disparities in what is relevant to the curriculum. CEO2 expresses the first concern; the curriculum needs to be improved, because earlier on it was more centred on the more able students, but now we need to diversify further on the curriculum. Both ends suffer as the national curriculum is used to cater for all (HS1). Some aspects of the curriculum need to be decentralised because regions are different (HJ1). HS2 linked curriculum flexibility to empowerment. Stakeholders need to be involved in the curriculum to avoid delivery whereby teachers just follow prescriptions (HS2). One parent said the curriculum needed to be diversified

especially on agriculture because different parts of the country have different needs and limitations (PS1).

Some interviewees disagreed. Although we follow prescriptions, teachers are allowed to bring in creativity (CEO4). In the view of this regional officer, the move from teacher to student pedagogy can be effected within the National Curriculum. He went on to elaborate that in the Botswana situation there must be policy co-ordination to avoid each region operating differently (CEO4). Another regional officer also felt there is a need for the same type of education through the national curriculum (CEO1). Some Heads agreed. We are still developing, therefore we need to keep the national curriculum (HS2 and HJ2). Regions cannot adopt their own curriculum (TS1, TS2 and TJ2)

Others wanted to keep the national curriculum but with some flexibility: some aspects of the curriculum should remain centralised (TJ1) while one parent said that the curriculum should be decentralised only where necessary, because we are still developing (PJ1). TS2 thought that the curriculum needs to be centralised to provide for standardisation in a globalised world. Furthermore, 'again no man is an island' therefore some aspects of the curriculum need to remain centralised (TJ1).

#### ***5.4.4 Regulation: Accountability and control of teachers***

Regulation in relation to performance was seen as primarily to be carried out by the Inspectorate. The system of regulation is not concerned with 'outputs' such as exam results as in countries like England and Wales but is more concerned with ongoing

monitoring and advice. In Botswana, the current situation suggests that Inspectorate powers have not been increased with decentralisation, and if the Inspectorate think a teacher or school is underperforming/failing, all they do in terms of sanctions is to provide a full report (data) to headquarters for action and of course with recommendations / views. In addition, there is an annual teacher appraisal form that is used by schools and regions as data gathering instrument for headquarters. At the moment the state controls resource inputs and provision tends to follow state's philosophy, hence regulation seem to take the form of laws, ordinances or determinations by regulatory bodies, which holds some similarities to Dale's (1997: 274) view stated in Chapter 3.

Decentralisation makes monitoring (HqO3) and supervision very easy (CEO2) because regional officers are based nearer to schools; it becomes easy for them to see policy implementation (HqO2 and CEO4). Headquarters could remain with co-ordination only (CEO3). Schools and regions could handle all the operational activities such as school inspection, and teacher welfare (HqO3).

All departments could report to one senior person at the region (like district commissioners operations), and this operation could work as a mini-Ministry at the region (HqO2). Inspectorate teams could be deployed to the regions (HqO2). The Chief Education Officer (CEO) would have the same operation almost the same as the District Commissioner (HqO3). [Chief Education Officer (CEO) is equivalent to Regional Education Officer (REO), while District Commissioner is the top civil servant for local government (District /City Council)]. The Inspectorate could be looked at much more closely and be decentralised (CEO2). More senior positions would come to the regions,

and new structures would include the Chief Education Officer and Deputy Chief Education Officer, and the Inspectorate, such that the Chief Education Officer coordinates all functions in the region (CEO4). All the heads said the Ministry of Education is planning to decentralise the Inspectorate such that inspection is done at regional level (HS1, HS2, HJ1, and HJ2).

However, not all agreed with this emphasis on regional control; some argued that there needed to be a balance between central and regional control. HqO3 observed that there is a need for a judicious balance between decentralisation and centralisation, such that headquarters remains with some functions. Another noted that the issue was not just that of balancing Ministry of Education functions with those of the regions because the Ministry itself has to account to other ministries (HS2). Here the question of financial accountability demanded of the ministry was seen as a consideration. One headquarters official said there are limitations because accountability is very high (HqO1). One regional officer there is need for central accountability especially on finance, and because of this accountability, Ministry officials are hesitant to give up what they should give (CEO4). Other factors leading to a more balanced form of decentralisation were also mentioned: some areas must be kept centralised for the sake of quality, national interest and for the purposes of ethical issues in education (HJ1). Staff recruitment must be centralised to avoid abuse (HJ1).

#### ***5.4.5 Discipline***

On discipline there was broad agreement across the groups among those that commented that discipline could be decentralised. HqO1 was in favour: schools and regions could handle initial stages of discipline. Schools and regions must handle

quickly the discipline of teachers and students not headquarters, and the Education Act need to be revised (HqO2 and CEO1). Decentralisation would make the discipline of teachers and students easy (CEO2). Regional offices and schools should attend to most of the teacher and student discipline cases (CEO4). Therefore, discipline should be decentralised such that regions deal with discipline cases (HS1 and HJ1). At the moment we still refer cases of discipline to headquarters and this cause a lot of delays (HS2). Discipline must be decentralised (TJ2). Student discipline issues would be dealt with faster rather than having to refer them to the Permanent Secretary (TJ1). Student and teacher discipline should come to schools and regions, as it takes a long route for discipline cases to be settled (PS1). Boards of Governors needs more power on teacher discipline cases such as rental defaulters (PJ1).

One regional officer said ‘I wish that teacher discipline could be decentralised as well’ (CEO1). Offenders would know that action can be taken on the spot, and are likely to better disciplined (HS1). A teacher (TS2) said it would raise productivity, as workers would know that actions could be taken on the spot.

#### ***5.4.6 Human resources: Manpower***

Ten interviewees indicated that decisions regarding teachers’ work conditions should be decentralised. HqO3 provided the rationale for why many of the decisions regarding teachers’ work conditions should be placed in the hands of regions and schools: the process is very sensitive to local needs, as people are better placed to evaluate and assess (HqO3). HqO4 wanted all the professional services to be decentralised because professionals would have better contact with the people (teachers and community). HqO1 said that payment, allowances, confirmation of staff, nomination for further

studies, and promotion up to a certain level could be processed at the school and regional level. This view was echoed by the regional officers. All teacher work conditions such as transfers within the region, promotions, leave, gratuity, nomination for further studies and contracts (expatriate teachers), must go to the regions (CEO1, CEO3), and in-service training and the Inspectorate, as they all need knowledgeable people nearer to schools (CEO4). The reasons for these views were as follows: teachers now have close contact with regional service officers and are helped on the ground faster, and most problems are solved locally (CEO2). Local authorities easily get local feedback (CEO3). Regional offices must be given authority to process employment of expatriate teachers for private schools (CEO3), as they understand problems more at the schools and decentralisation is a good process for taking action research at the regions and schools (CEO4).

Most heads also expressed agreement. Regions should do teacher discipline, recruitment and welfare (leave, salaries, transfers and promotions). Staffing problems, compounded by a highly centralised system, would be attended to easily, as it is slow, and makes staff recruitment difficult (HS1) and must be decentralised to avoid delays (HJ1). Decentralisation on employment of teachers, payments, and finance is good, but non-citizen recruitment (foreign nationals) must remain centralised (HJ2). Most teachers also took a similar view: processing of teachers' payment, welfare, confirmations, promotions and further studies must be decentralised, such that immediate supervisors should handle them (TS2, TJ1, TJ2). Regional officers would know the schools and teachers and allow cases to be handled within the neighbourhood areas rather than referring them (TJ2). The process motivates those empowered and makes them

accountable (HS2). Now heads of schools do the recruitment of temporary teachers (HJ2).

The broader view as to the importance of decentralising work conditions was that: it allows for responsibility to be exercised by all (HqO4), and as people get empowered to take decisions they become more accountable (HS2). Decentralisation increases responsibility, ownership and partnership in the education process (PJ1).

Despite a measure of agreement across groups, as we have seen earlier, it was felt that these potential advantages had been and would be compromised by a lack of skilled personnel and the appropriate attitudes in terms of decision-taking.

So far we have discussed the views of stakeholders in terms of the key modalities, although the issue of corruption and nepotism was also raised. But a further issue identified in the literature as one possible aspect of decentralisation is that of competition, and stakeholders were asked about their views on this issue.

## **5.5 Competition**

Decentralisation reforms have competition mechanisms that are assumed to influence education much more towards higher quality by raising standards. It is quite likely that this assumption depends on other factors and values for education. But, how do key stakeholders in Botswana judge competition between schools?

### ***5.5.1 Between state schools***

Six interviewees agreed that competition between schools for students might work as it would improve productivity if there were appropriate criteria used (HqO1). It is possible for performance to rise when there is competition for students by schools (CEO1). It might possibly work only if we change the current management of schools to business like types (CEO2). Possibly the performance of schools and students can improve (HS1). A teacher agreed by indicating that:

Admission based on competition will raise standards. The school curriculum and performance will improve. Students will know schools, as schools standards will not be equal. No catchment area will pose problems because it determines performance of junior and senior schools (TS1).

One head based in town talked about discipline and said sometimes students are not serious, as they know they don't have to fight for places (HS1).

However, ten interviewees mentioned urban versus rural issues when disagreeing with competition for students by state schools. As HqO2 pointed out, it would not solve any problems, as there are many factors involved such as boarding facilities, which are mostly available in rural areas. Facilities are not equitably available in urban and rural areas, and there are more facilities in urban schools (HqO4). CEO3 took up this theme; the most affected schools would be the ones at the rural areas, while CEO1 said the idea of competition for students can not work anywhere both in urban or rural areas. Heads also took up the rural-urban theme. It would create the problem of poor attitudes towards schools in the rural areas, therefore causing great mobility from rural to urban areas (HS2); teacher motivation in urban areas is better (HJ1). It would be bad for some schools because they are badly situated, while others would be over-crowded; rural areas would be badly affected (HJ2). Teacher TS2 also noted that schools would not



want some students. Competition cannot possibly apply to both urban and rural areas. Both parents said 'no': competition for students cannot work in either urban or rural areas (PS1), and it isn't easy, as it all depends on who is in the urban or rural area (PJ1).

Interviewees picked up on the practical implications of introducing competition. We still do not have enough schools in some regions to compete (HqO4). Some schools will be overcrowded due to preferences while others remain empty (CEO1 and CEO3). Some schools would be getting the best students and the most affected schools would be the ones in the rural areas (CEO3 and CEO4). Distance that some of the schools are at is a problem because some schools are very far, and as such the distance hinders parents to get involved (TS2).

The policy now is that some schools have boarding facilities and some schools do not have, and therefore, some schools will be overcrowded, and as such choice can be a problem, unless there were full boarding facilities at all schools (PJ1).

The question of admissions policies in relation to competition was also raised. The issue of admissions still has to be centralised, as we have not reached the stage for schools to compete for students equally in urban and rural areas (HqO3). Competitions can not work in our present set-up, and the current policy of admissions must be maintained (CEO2). The catchment area or zoning system used for admissions is the best at the moment and it only needs to be improved (CEO4).

Three interviewees felt state schools should not compete for students because of issues of equity and uniformity. One headquarters official said we want uniformity (HqO4).

Schools could not compete for students because facilities are not equitably provided (HS2), and competition would not solve problems, because they would still be there if regional areas are not of the same standard (HJ1).

Two interviewees forwarded the National Curriculum as a reason for not allowing the state schools to compete for students. So, the catchment or zoning needs to be maintained. We are providing the National Curriculum, schools do vary, and they do not offer same optional subjects (HqO2). The National Curriculum needs to work across the board (CEO3).

#### ***5.5.2 Between state and private schools***

In this case public/state school refers to government and/or government-aided school, while private school refers to privately owned by an individual, non-government organisation / institution. Although competition between the two types of schools is not widespread, it some how exists in some areas such as Gaborone, where competition between state schools and Maruapula / Legae school (two private schools) exists. However, this competition is more skewed towards academic ability and economic muscle, where the rich can afford private schools and government is not interested in assisting the poor to attend them, but rather emphasise they go to public school.

Two headquarters officials mentioned equity and productivity when advocating competition between public and private schools, suggesting that it is possible provided the ground is level for public schools and private schools, and both focus on the same productivity targets.

Four interviewees agreed that competition between state and public schools was fine, as it would influence standards and quality. Competition would raise standards (TS1) and the quality of teaching will improve and standards would rise (TJ1), the system will be put in place and improved, which will make people aim for the best and thereby improving quality (TJ2). A parent argued that: 'Schools would have pressure to aim for higher performance / results' (PJ1).

One head, based in town, mentioned parental participation when arguing for competition between the two types of schools as it would solve some problems, particularly when fees are introduced; parents can participate more in student learning by getting concerned (HS1).

Eight interviewees talked about the problems involved. Private schools have a short history, and at the moment they only complement public schools, therefore 'no', competition can not work (HqO3). With the present set-up 'no', because private schools lack focus on the same educational needs. Examples are Maruapula and Legae schools that are the elite type, and therefore currently competition cannot work (CEO2). Private schools show public schools direction, but some private schools are just there for money and competition between the two cannot work at the moment (CEO4). Three heads argue that: in Botswana most private schools are for the low achievers, and are not large enough to give public schools some competition (HS2). Some are not particularly concerned with universal access to education, as they all go for the cream in terms of ability and money (HJ1); and this would have no effect at the moment as most schools are almost public, and the private school sector is very limited (HJ2).

Six interviewees had their views focused on equity when arguing against public and private schools competition. There is no chance of such competition because the ground for competition between public schools and private schools is not level and facilities are not the same (HqO4 and CEO1). We all follow the prescribed programme in terms of national examinations (CEO1). Competition is a healthy exercise because we can learn from each other, but at the moment it is almost impossible because the ground is not level regarding admissions (CEO3).

Finally, as will be seen below, there is a recognition that decentralisation requires an infrastructure that is missing at present. This has to do with transport, residential and communication facilities.

## **5.6 Other resources**

There is lack of transport in the regions arising from decentralisation. Regions are given wider areas to cover in terms of the number of schools and distance, and there is a lack of transport (HqO1 HqO2, CEO1, CEO4, HS1, HS2 and HJ1). There is a transportation problem and the Central Transport Organisation (CTO) is not coping (HJ1). Regions have vast areas to be covered and too many schools to be covered, which creates problems in delivery of services, transport for travelling is not adequate or not even available (TS2, TJ1). Both parents say regions have problems with distances (PS1), as it is difficult to operate when there is no transport and roads are bad (PJ1).

There is lack of office and residential accommodation for effective implementation in the regions (HqO1, HqO2, HqO3 and HqO4). There is an acute shortage of accommodation (offices and residential) and this makes it almost impossible for some

regions (CEO1, CEO2, CEO4). Two teachers talked about problems of residential and office accommodation (TS1 and TS2). The Ministry of Education lacks office accommodation and resources (PJ1).

Computer facilities are not enough because records still have to be networked at the regional level (HqO2). There is lack of facilities (computers) (CEO4). One parent agreed that regions lack facilities such as computers (PJ1).

## **5.7 Summary**

This chapter had three major purposes: (i) to identify stakeholders' views as to the problems they had experienced with decentralisation so far and their explanations for them; (ii) to identify the key themes or issues they identified as important especially in relation to the advantages and disadvantages they saw, in principle, as regards present and future decentralisation; and (iii) to use the issues identified as a basis for developing scenarios which could clarify what they took to be the most desirable and feasible ways of putting together the modalities of governance, finance, provision and regulation. The aims here are to identify the degree of consensus amongst them and where points of disagreement exist.

As regards (i) the clear view expressed across groups, although not by every stakeholder, was that decentralisation was confronted with a major problem, which concerned the lack of qualified personnel to make it work, in terms of credentials, experience and also the type of person required. It was noted earlier that respondents raised the issue of whether a new type of individual was required to make decentralisation work because there was a need for people to take initiatives and

shoulder responsibilities when previously these had been able to 'pass the buck' up the line. There is little in the literature about this, rather it is assumed (see e.g., Osborne and Gaebler, 1992: 259) that decentralisation will release some innate ability to take responsibility, exercise initiative and take risks. If the views of these stakeholders, including some of the most powerful policy makers in the country, reflect the situation on the ground then there are arguments for saying that any further decentralisation should be proceeded with, if at all, with extreme caution.

As regards (ii) there was optimism across groups as to the potential benefits of decentralisation, in principle, although how this term should be understood in terms of the aims of decentralisation and their impact on effectiveness varied. The ideas of the importance of grass roots decision-making, where knowledge is close to the ground, the motivational aspects of empowerment and that of common ownership were all articulated. In itself this optimism might be surprising because it may be that different groups would be divided in terms of their interests on the benefits and nature of decentralisation. However, there was a degree of consensus that the next steps in decentralisation should centre on strengthening the regional offices. Beyond this, there was less consensus over the key modalities of governance, funding, provision and regulation and accountability. The issue of governance was seen largely in terms of the Inspectorate and, in particular, whether they should be centrally or regionally controlled. However, the thinking on governance, at least as elicited from this first round of interviews was not well developed. As regards funding, it is noteworthy that, as in other African countries, there was a view that parents should pay something towards their children's education, while all except the headquarters policy makers emphasised the need for additional funding if decentralisation was to work. As regards

provision two concerns surfaced, one that teachers were not sufficiently pro-active in facilitating learning and the other concerned the controlling influence of the National Curriculum. Some thought that more power should be placed in the hands of regions and schools, as regards it, while others saw a central curriculum as important for issues of equity, national unity and standardisation in the face of globalisation. There was more consensus as regards the role of the regions and the Inspectorate in relation to accountability, as there was over teachers' work conditions and discipline.

Other issues beyond these modalities were also raised. These concerned the threat to meritocracy by decentralising, especially in terms of corruption and nepotism, the role of competition and the need for greater resources to be devoted to the infrastructure necessary for decentralisation to work.

These views provided the platform for the third aim of the chapter (iii) to provide a basis for developing scenarios in which the key modalities could be configured in different ways, reflecting the spread of opinion over them as expressed in the first round of interviews. A brief discussion of how the scenarios were generated now follows.

### ***5.7.1 Generating the Scenarios***

There was no straightforward way of generating the scenarios. They were, therefore, created by taking into consideration two factors. Firstly, the researcher wanted to present at least one scenario, which presented the *trade-offs* between individual freedom and possibly greater effectiveness and equity and national unity. This would challenge the stakeholders to think about the appropriate trade-offs, balances and outcomes involved. In the case of this first scenario, it was clear that many wanted parents to pay

some or all of their children's school fees because they felt that it would involve parents more in their children's education. But how far did they want to take this idea? As far as a neo-liberal market model of decentralisation? To this end, the first model put to the stakeholders was a neo-liberal model. Thereafter, the researcher looked at the differences in opinion expressed in this chapter and tried to develop scenarios that reflected the various balances and trade-offs that stakeholders were juggling with. The international literature on various models of decentralisation was also consulted (Klette, 2001; Lauder, et al, 1999; Whitty, 1998; Riddell, 1997; Dale, 1997). In introducing these scenarios in the next chapter elements of thinking expressed in this chapter are presented to the stakeholders when introducing each scenario, so that there is a sense of recognition as to how the scenario reflects what they told the researcher.



## CHAPTER 6: SCENARIO DATA ANALYSIS

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the scenario data analysis<sup>1</sup>. The data were gathered by using three scenarios that were developed in relation to the first interview data analysis. In general, each scenario provides a different perspective on a series of key issues that arose from the first data round, such as funding, provision, governance, regulation, discipline and human resources (manpower). Scenario one reflects neo-liberal theory; it is the simplest and clearest scenario and as such it provides a stepping stone for stakeholders to think about the various scenarios. It sets the stage for questions that ask stakeholders about the feasibility and desirability of such a scenario (neo-liberal theory) in Botswana and in particular, why education should be left to market forces. Scenario two could be described as a community/market model of decentralisation, which has elements of a more fully decentralised system including aspects of choice, while Scenario three could be considered a state-guided (half-way-house) system. Within these scenarios it will be apparent that there is room for considerable differences in their detailed implementation but the primary concern is to chart the broad direction of stakeholders' thinking. In general, the analysis concentrates on the desirability and feasibility of scenario elements. In analysing the data the researcher was aware that 'qualitative research does not imply commitment to innumeracy' (Kirk and Miller, 1986: 10). Hence, the researcher used 'simple counting techniques to offer a means to survey the whole

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<sup>1</sup> The data in this thesis is analysed in order to see whether there is a degree of consensus as regards the scenarios considered by interviewees and to identify key points of difference. This is in line with policy methodology of this thesis. The data may not appear as 'rich' as it might because the world-views of individuals and in particular key power holders are not analysed quite as is frequently the case in qualitative research. It is important for the methodology that the world-views of power holders do not overwhelm or unduly influence the views of other stakeholders when this research is presented to them.

corpus of data ordinarily lost in intensive, qualitative research' (Silverman, 1993: 163; and Sarantakos, 1998: 324). Furthermore, percentages and bar charts were used to give the reader a chance to gain a sense of the data as a whole (Silverman, 1993: 163).

## **6.2 Presentation of Scenarios**

During the analysis of the first data round several issues surfaced as prominent in the concerns of those interviewed in response to the questions concerning the categories: funding, provision, governance, regulation, discipline and human resources. These issues gave rise to at least three possible ways (scenarios) as to how decentralisation could further develop as shown by the scenarios below.

### **6.2.1 Scenario one model**

1. *Funding*: Current education funding or free education in Botswana has developed a dependency syndrome or attitude which threatens the Self-Reliance National principle. Therefore there is a need for the devolution of funding to school and regions, as they have local knowledge. This arrangement will create consumer knowledge, motivate parents, and they will be effectively involved in the learning process. It will also make students more responsible. Schools and regions<sup>2</sup> will know their teachers, and will best be able to handle issues of teachers' salaries. That is, all funding will be by parental payment of fees, with the exception of scholarships for poor able students. Parents can choose where they send their children to school.
2. *Provision (Teachers and Curriculum)*: The Botswana education system has centralised provision of a National Curriculum. Schools follow the centrally prescribed syllabi on what is to be taught to cater for all. But, there is a need for diversity through decentralisation to allow schools to determine what is taught, and how the teaching can best be applied. School heads and teachers must be empowered to create their own curriculum according to local needs and knowledge. Subjects such as agriculture could be approached differently because different

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<sup>2</sup> This scenario element could have been worded more clearly as it might imply that funding and provision (see above) would be the joint responsibility of schools and regions. What was intended was that regions would provide support and guidance for processing salaries, giving legal advice etc. No respondents picked up on funding as being in some way a function of regions although two respondents related provision to regions. CEO4 thought that different educational systems would follow if regions developed their own curricula while HS2 thought that national unity would follow if regions were allowed diversity.

regions have different needs and limitations. Schools will determine teacher- student ratios (class sizes) not headquarters.

3. *Governance (Authority and Decision-making)*: Decentralisation removes certain duties from headquarters to the schools, and empowers all stakeholders to make decisions at grass root level. It is assumed that these stakeholders (headteachers, the community of teachers, and parents) will have sufficient expertise to offer services, and have enough autonomy to govern schools within the confines of the market.
4. *Regulation (Accountability and Control)*: Education control in Botswana is more centralised as the control is bench-marked by the Education Act and Code of Regulations, and this makes headquarters more accountable than schools. But conditions in Botswana need a devolved system that will make schools more accountable by infusing the market mechanism whereby schools attract students, and if not, they close down. Schools will aim for quality results, and teachers will be motivated to perform and get profit for doing a good job. They will fear losing their jobs if they do not perform. Parents and students will choose schools that offer quality education. School quality will be determined by their examination results.
5. *Discipline*: Schools not headquarters must handle teacher and student discipline. Governors need more power on teacher discipline. Discipline cases are still referred to headquarters in Botswana and this causes delays. Some students graduate before hearing the final verdict on their cases. Teachers' movements also make it difficult to handle discipline case. Schools have full knowledge of students and staff and could handle cases on the spot more effectively.
6. *Human Resources (Manpower)*: The Ministry of Education does not have enough manpower at headquarters, regions and schools to cope with expansion in the system as well as the decentralisation process. This has contributed to a lack of monitoring mechanisms and co-ordinators' structures. Posts remain unfilled for a long time and there is always a danger of early appointment of unqualified, inexperienced, and less knowledgeable staff, especially at the posts of heads and heads of departments. Schools should determine teachers' conditions of work and offer higher salaries as incentives where there is a shortage of teachers.

### **6.2.2 Scenario two model**

1. *Funding*: Current government funding is not sustainable, money per child is not enough, and special needs cases are not catered for. The funding is highly centralised and this imposes limitations on how money is spent per student and on teachers' salaries. If educators, funding is fully decentralised to schools and regions, and skilled finance personnel made available to make decentralisation work, then the budget will be prepared according to local and individual needs, and

staff recruitment and payment will be determined by the budget. Regions and schools will learn to raise additional funds according to local needs by asking the parents to contribute to their children's education. If parents pay a part of the costs they will have a stake in their children's education and will therefore help to embed decentralisation in the system because they will take an active interest in their children's education.

2. *Provision (Teachers and Curriculum)*: Currently the curriculum is centrally provided, including raw material (people). Teachers follow prescriptions, and only are allowed to bring in a little creativity. But a partially decentralised curriculum in which there is a centralised framework or set of principles that teachers have to follow but which they can address as they think appropriate for local conditions enable teacher creativity and meet both central and local demands.
3. *Governance (Authority and Decision-making)*: Schools and regions can be empowered through decentralisation mechanisms to deal with school finance, inspections and handle all matters of teacher welfare. So regions would allocate finance to schools and determine teachers' work conditions including pay. There will be parents' advisory councils in each region, where parents will be elected on a regional basis, to advise on the allocation of finance and teachers' work conditions so that there is equity within regions. In this way the community will have a direct input into educational policy in the region. In the Botswana situation, empowerment of regions, schools and governors would bring services near to the people, provide effective co-ordination, and faster service delivery. It would remove hardships and inconveniences caused by lack of empowerment at regions and schools, referrals, communications, distance, delays, and create room for speedy implementations of government policy.
4. *Regulation (Accountability and Control)*: Education in Botswana could be devolved to allow limited competition for student admission where possible. But all students will have the right to go to their local school. School and student performance will rise partly due to competition, where it is possible. School performance will differ, and parents will know the good performing schools. Schools will be more accountable to parents and the community. If schools fail they will answer to the community and this will enable community control of education. Regional inspectors and examination results, which will be published, will determine schools' quality. A parents' advisory council will monitor both the reports of the regional inspectors and the examination results.
5. *Discipline*: Decentralisation of the Botswana education system, ideally, could bring discipline strategies closer to places where offences occur. If schools and regions are given authority to handle all student and teacher discipline cases, then the offenders will know that action will be immediate.

6. *Human Resources (Manpower)*: A decentralised education system creates effective service delivery, when there is enough availability of qualified, skilled and experienced human resources (manpower). Headquarters, regions and schools have acute manpower shortages. More people are needed to carry out duties, and to facilitate a fully decentralised system. Regions will determine manpower planning because they have a clearer view of the needs of their region than headquarters.

### 6.2.3 Scenario three model

1. *Funding*: The funding of operational budgets and special needs budgets in Botswana should be decentralised to schools. All other funding should remain at the Centre. At the moment, personnel at the regional and school level are not sufficiently skilled to handle budgets. Teacher and personnel transfer resistance from urban areas to rural areas would be a big problem in the system, if it were fully decentralised, unless some means of attraction through higher rural payments is implemented. But such a policy would create problems of funding and inequity in salaries. To avoid this, funding of staff, teachers and their work conditions will remain centralised. Therefore, the rationale for parents paying fees loses its strength, as the headquarters (centre) will retain considerable financial power. What is devolved to schools via the regions is day to day operation budgets and special needs funding.
2. *Provision (Teachers and Curriculum)*: There is need for some forms of decentralisation, but it is too early to decentralise fully the curriculum. The curriculum can be diversified only where necessary to allow schools and teachers to respond to specific local needs. But such initiatives would be limited. Botswana is still developing and needs some form of uniformity and equity in the provision. It is possible to decentralise education provision, if infrastructure and qualified personnel are made available. However, the quality of production of teachers has gone down due to expansion, and the headquarters is needed to recruit, train and deploy teachers for purposes of equity and quality, and to avoid haphazard teaching and learning.
3. *Governance (Authority and Decision-making)*: Decentralisation processes bring mechanisms of power sharing at the centre, regions, schools, and amongst all stakeholders. However, if decisions are largely by the Centre then resources can be equitably distributed between urban and rural schools. There are tendencies of being hesitant to share power, or lose power. "If I have to share power I cannot control" (Interviewee). Power sharing is possible, but people still believe headquarters can perform better than schools and regions, and think the headquarters should keep some power on policy matters such as the national curriculum, standards, monitoring and co-ordination. The legal position on authority and decision making is not clear and this contributes to a lack of power sharing. Stakeholders at the regional and local level will have representation on school boards and will determine specific schools' policies and allocate the operating budget.

4. *Regulation (Accountability and Control)*: In Botswana, schools and regions are expected to feed the headquarters with information for the modification of policies. The Ministry of Education sets standards of performance and control, and make schools accountable to the headquarters. The issue of competition for admission cannot occur equitably between urban and rural areas. Closing down schools due to under performance is not possible since in many areas there is only one school. The rural communities lack knowledge about education, and prefer schools being accountable to the regions and headquarters. Central and regional inspectors and examination results will monitor and regulate school quality.
5. *Discipline*: Decentralisation could enable schools and regions to handle teachers and students discipline cases. The country is wide and the schools are many now. Head office cannot cope with all the many cases of discipline. But, heads and regional officers are still on the learning curve. Other areas have inexperienced personnel and expertise shortages. The legal implication of handling some cases is beyond the expertise of schools and regions. People are still sceptical about change, and do not trust the changed structures in education. Headquarters will continue to be centrally involved in discipline cases.
6. *Human Resources (Manpower)*: Regions and school are still under staffed. The scheme of service is failing to attract experienced and qualified staff, as salaries are not attractive. The manpower shortages differ from region to region and from school to school. There is virtually, an accepted belief that, under these conditions the centre should continue with the responsibilities for addressing this issue.

### **6.3 Scenario One: Stakeholders group analysis**

The analysis here not only deals with individual responses but also with the question of whether a group's position in the educational structure informs or determines their views in accordance with what they may perceive to be their interests (see appendix 7). Views are first analysed according to the counting method and further presented in percentages to show the magnitudes of desirability and feasibility. This is followed by qualitative analysis. Here not all views are reported if they are similar, rather they are used to illuminate the 'quantitative' data.

***Table 6.1: Similar group views and differences between group views and views of other groups of stakeholders in scenario one.***

<b><i>Respondents</i></b>	<b><i>Elements of the Scenario</i></b>					
	Funding	Provision	Governance	Regulation	Discipline	Manpower
<b>H Officials</b>						
HqO 1	Desirable Not feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible
HqO 2	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible
HqO 3	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible
HqO 4	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
<b>R Officers</b>						
CEO 1	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible
CEO 2	Desirable Not feasible now	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible
CEO 3	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible
CEO 4	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible
<b>Heads</b>						
HS 1	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible
HS 2	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible
HJ 1	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible
HJ 2	Desirable Not feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Not desirable Not feasible
<b>Teachers</b>						
TS 1	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible
TS 2	Desirable Not feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible
TJ 1	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible
TJ 2	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible

<b>Parents</b>						
PS 1	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible
PJ 1	Not desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible
<b>Percentages</b>						
Desirable	D=13/17x 100=76.5%	D= 8/17 x 100= 47.1%	D= 17/17 x100=100%	D= 11/17 x 100= 64.7%	D=17/17x 100=100%	D=12/17x 100=70.6%
	ND= 4/17x 100=23.5%	ND= 9/17x 100= 52.9%	ND= 0/17 x100 = 0%	ND= 6/17 x 100= 35.3%	ND= 0/17x 100= 0%	ND= 5/17x 100= 29.4%
Feasible	F= 8/17 x 100=47.1%	F= 1/17 x100 =5.9%	F= 12/17 x 100 =70.6%	F=4/17 x 100= 23.5%	F= 15/17 x 100= 88.2%	F=6/17x 100= 35.3%
	NF= 9/17 x 100 = 52.9%	NF= 16/17 x 100 = 94.1%	NF= 5/17 x100 =29.4%	NF= 13/17 x 100 = 76.5%	NF= 2/17 x100 = 11.8%	NF= 11/17 x100 = 64.7%

D= desirable. ND= not desirable. F= feasible. NF= not feasible.

NA= Not Applicable (Respondent not available).

**Average D% = (76.5 + 47.1 + 100 + 64.7 + 100 + 70.6) / 6= 76. 5%**

**Average F% = (47.1 +5.9 + 70.6 + 23.5 + 88.2 + 35.3) / 6 = 45.1%**

### **6.3.1 Similarity of the group views in scenario one**

Here, the analysis of responses was done in terms of both groups of stakeholders and individuals. In looking at groups the researcher wanted to see whether where people are placed within the educational structure is linked to their views on scenario one elements. For example, are the views of those at the Ministry similar? (Also see appendix 7)

#### **6.3.1.1 Funding**

According to scenario one model:

Current education funding or free education in Botswana has developed a dependency syndrome or attitude, which threatens the Self-reliance National principle. Therefore there is a need for the devolution of funding to school and regions, as they have local knowledge. This arrangement will create consumer knowledge, motivate parents, and they will be effectively involved in the learning process. It will also make students more responsible. Schools and regions will know their teachers, and will best be able to handle issues of teachers' salaries. That



is, all funding will be by parental payment of fees, with the exception of scholarships for poor able students. Parents can choose where they send their children to school.

*Desirable:* Thirteen out of seventeen interviewees (76.5%) felt the funding of education in the way it is described in scenario one is desirable. All the headquarters officials expressed similar views that the idea is generally good and very desirable (HqO1), as free education has in some ways contributed to disappearance of the self-help principle and students have no sense of ownership, hence parental payment of fees is desirable, because most parents can pay fees (HqO2).

Certainly it is to be accepted that the present policy of free education is no longer sustainable. It negates the spirit of Self-reliance, and certainly parents no longer appreciate their role in terms of complementing government efforts (HqO3).

Regional officers indicated the desirability of this type of funding. The idea of school fees is desirable as it will make people accountable and responsible, and this is what we want (CEO1). This will solicit parents' interest in the education of their children (CEO2). Ideally it is good thing to have parental fees (CEO3), because free education has caused problems and cost-sharing idea seeks to address some of these problems, and therefore, the idea is desirable because 'in any case, education was paid for before' (CEO4). Two heads felt this type of funding was desirable, as payment of fees or cost sharing would make parents more involved in the education of their children (HS2). Government should pay salaries through regions or schools so that each school hires its own teachers who will feel committed to their jobs (HJ2). Three teachers indicated the same views, since part or even all payment of students' fees will make parents feel responsible and change their attitude (TS2), and help instil a sense of responsibility in

both parents and children (TJ1). 'Parents would take a more active part in their children's educational needs. Students would take well care of school facilities knowing that they bear the cost of repairing or replacing lost books. This is most desirable, as students would be more responsible' (TJ1). It is a great concern that the National Principle of Self-reliance is disappearing and negligence of students and parents towards education is quite high because they do not lose anything (TJ2). A parent said the funding by parents is desirable as it can motivate parents and students to take education seriously (PS1).

Not desirable: Only four interviewees out of seventeen (23.5%) said the type of funding in scenario one is not desirable. Two heads said it was not desirable because very few parents can afford to pay the full cost of education (HS1), and if wholly funded by parents they would in a way dictate, and have complete control over the head of school (HJ1). One teacher saw it not desirable because 'some aspects should best be left for central funding particularly salaries that schools can not afford, and this needs to be left to headquarters' (TS1). One parent said funding in scenario one is not desirable because when parents pay all the fees, it would not be sustainable as most parents cannot afford even those who are not poor, and parental involvement in children's learning process is not guaranteed (PJ1).

Feasible: Eight interviewees (47.1%) said scenario one funding was feasible. One headquarters official opined that most parents can pay fees (HqO2). Two regional officers said the idea of school fees is a matter of custom (CEO1), because education was paid for before (CEO4). One head felt payment by parents was very possible because Batswana are economically better off than before (HS2). Two teachers

indicated the feasibility of scenario one model of funding, as parents and children would be responsible (TJ1), and it is highly possible to operate in this way because parents can pay fees, as they are not very poor *per se* (TJ2). Both parents said it was feasible because it was economically possible, even though some people would still need help through scholarship (PS1), some parents can afford, and government can only cover those who are unable to pay through bursaries (PJ1).

Not feasible: Nine interviewees (52.9%) argued that the scenario one model of funding was not feasible at all. Two headquarters officials saw the danger of not having the resources and the need to train officers to handle jobs at regional and school levels (HqO1)<sup>1</sup>; however, the idea should not be that government hands over everything to the parents, because all funding should not come from parents (HqO3). Two regional officers said the time might not be ideal for parents to choose schools for their children due to limited number of schools in most regions (CEO2). Ideally it is good to have parents paying fees; unfortunately most parents cannot afford the fees, because life in Botswana has become expensive, and some families fail to afford the basic necessities. One example is that even payment of a development levy has been difficult (CEO3). Three heads felt very few parents can afford to pay the full cost of education, and as such government will still to pay large amounts for those that cannot pay, and continue to be the major stakeholder (HS1). Only a few can wholly afford, but not the majority, and the handling and payment of teachers' salaries by regions and schools through payment of fees is not possible (HJ1). At the moment the idea is not possible, but in future it is very possible (about two years time) (HJ2). Two teachers say the scenario one model of funding is not feasible. Schools cannot afford to pay salaries, and salaries

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<sup>1</sup>. For example services such as legal advice to schools might be at the regional level.

needs to be left to headquarters to avoid inequality (TS1). 'Investment is a 50 / 50 thing, if the majority can change then this can be practical', but at the moment there is no certainty that this would work (TS2).

#### **6.3.1.2 Provision**

As for provision, scenario one states that:

The Botswana education system has centralised provision of a National Curriculum. Schools follow the centrally prescribed syllabi on what is to be taught to cater for all. But, there is a need for diversity through decentralisation to allow schools to determine what is taught, and how the teaching can best be applied. School heads and teachers must be empowered to create their own curriculum according to local needs and knowledge. Subjects such as agriculture could be approached differently because different regions have different needs and limitations. Schools will determine teacher- student ratios (class sizes) not headquarters.

Desirable: Eight out of seventeen interviewees (47.1%) felt the provision of education in the way it is described in scenario one is desirable. One headquarters official thought it was desirable because decentralisation would promote curriculum diversification to meet local variations. 'However, the idea should not be for schools to determine their separate curriculum *'per se'* but to promote local initiatives, and the ministry has already embarked upon decentralisation in an incremental/evolutionary manner' (HqO3). This is desirable because it is good to provide a locally based curriculum, but it requires professionally trained curriculum officers to monitor such curricula. Currently we have a shortage of such manpower even in a centralised system (CEO3). Two heads felt the National Curriculum was crucial, but partial decentralisation may be fine to absorb those areas where there are differences (HS1). 'The curriculum should be very diverse to recognise cultural differences, language issues, tourism issues and locality' (HS2). The teacher-student ratio contributes a lot to performance hence there is a need

to reassess the current situation in schools to allow teachers to do their work efficiently. This is what we want, but on curriculum we would be stretched too far, as we need uniformity in the curriculum (TJ1). 'This is realistic, it should happen as mentioned because it is not fair for a child in Kgalagadi to compete with a child in urban areas. Schools should determine their teaching loads based on class size, as it is unfair to compare teachers when one is having 30 students in a class and one having 42 students (TJ2). Both parents think it is desirable provided the parents are consulted where possible (PS1). Gradual decentralisation is important as sudden change may create problems (PJ1).

Not desirable: Nine interviewees out of seventeen (52.9%) said the type of provision suggested in scenario one model was not desirable. Two headquarters officials felt it assumes that human resources are available and adequate, yet there is still a shortage of teachers and experienced staff to handle curriculum issues. As HqO1 explains, for now we cannot operate in this way as we do not have experienced and qualified people to do the job. And HqO2 comments, the 'Botswana education system is relatively small and developing quite fast, and in view of this it is prudent to use the resources economically by centralising the curriculum and determining teacher-student ratios as there are serious implications on resources such as facilities and teachers. We need a centralised curriculum to operate for purposes of uniformity and economic reasons'.

Three regional officers felt it was not desirable because the curriculum can not be left to schools yet, as there would be a risk that standards may be compromised and evaluation may become difficult (CEO1). There is no monitoring mechanism to ensure uniformity and standards in a system of diversified curriculum where schools determine what is

taught. This type of diversification may impact negatively in rural areas (CEO2). Diversity would result in different educational systems within one system, with each region following its own model and it would be difficult to monitor and ensure equity (CEO4).

Two heads thought it is not desirable because the machinery in place does not allow for this, as regions would require officers to have expertise in determining what is relevant (HJ1). 'I foresee a problem with national examinations uniformity and national standards if schools teach what they want themselves' (HJ2). 'On curriculum, it is important for students to know much about the country, so that once they finish school they could work anywhere without having been disadvantaged by the curriculum (shallowness). On teacher-student ratio I agree whole-heartedly' (TS2).

Feasible: Only one interviewee out of seventeen (5.9%) said the scenario one model of provision was feasible. One head thought it feasible because it would enhance National unity by satisfying all regions and recognising each people's uniqueness, and as such the curriculum should be very diverse to recognise cultural differences, language issues, tourism issues and locality (HS2).

Not feasible: Sixteen interviewees out of seventeen (94.1%) dismissed the scenario one model of provision as not feasible at all. All headquarters officials said it was not feasible. There is still a shortage of teachers experienced in schools who can handle curriculum issues, and for now we cannot operate in this way as we do not have experienced and qualified people to do the job (HqO1). The Botswana education system is relatively small and developing quite fast, and as such it is prudent to use the

resources economically, by centralising the curriculum and also determining teacher-student ratios. 'We need a centralised curriculum to operate for purposes of uniformity and economic reasons. So, this idea is not feasible' (HqO2). Decentralisation would promote curriculum diversification; however, the idea should not be for schools to determine their separate curriculum. There would still be need for guidelines from the central level on matters to do with broad specifications and class sizes (HqO3).

All regional officers thought the idea not feasible. CEO1 asserted that the curriculum can not be decentralised and left to schools as yet. CEO2 elaborated, at the moment there is no monitoring mechanism to ensure uniformity and standards in a system of diversified curriculum where schools determine what is taught, and diversification may impact negatively on rural areas. Regions do not generate income but rely wholly on government grant, and as for Botswana we should maintain the central curriculum to ensure uniformity and standards. CEO3 and CEO4 who stressed the issues of equity and uniformity, and monitoring, endorsed this view.

Three heads felt the idea was not feasible. HS1 noted that it is too early to go into such form of decentralisation as schools cannot create their own curriculum and equity will not be achieved. The National Curriculum is crucial, but partial decentralisation may be fine to absorb those areas where there are differences. The machinery in place does not allow for this, as regions would require officers in the regions to have expertise in determining what is relevant. HJ1 elaborated: schools and teachers are not ready and mature enough to know what is needed and what is not. I foresee a problem with the national examinations if schools teach what they want themselves as problems of

uniformity and national standards may arise. HJ2 agreed: 'I would not recommend decentralisation in the National curriculum because there should be a national frame'.

All teachers and parents found this idea unfeasible for the same reasons as it was undesirable.

### **6.3.1.3 Governance**

In scenario one:

Decentralisation removes certain duties from headquarters to the schools, and empowers all stakeholders to make decisions at grass root level. It is assumed that these stakeholders (headteachers, the community of teachers, and parents) will have sufficient expertise to offer services, and have enough autonomy to govern schools within the confines of the market.

*Desirable:* All interviewees felt the governance of education as described in scenario one was desirable. Three headquarters officials said it was desirable. HqO3 summed up their views; certainly, decentralisation does remove certain duties from headquarters in the spirit of local empowerment, and presupposes availability of appropriately equipped personnel who can take the initiative at the local level (HqO3). All regional officers saw it as desirable: because decentralisation takes services nearer to the schools, but does not necessarily empower stakeholders, which implies deconcentration (CEO1).

All heads saw it desirable: because governance must be decentralised to bring service to the users and after 35 years of independence stakeholders should be ready to assume responsibility, but in some cases people have no choice but to follow the market system (HS1). It also enhances the sense of ownership to provide services (HS2). It would



include Boards of Governors and stakeholders would know what to look for (HJ2). All teachers want the scenario one model of governance as it makes service delivery quick and appropriate (TS1) and stakeholders have more local knowledge (TS2). ‘Yes, other stakeholders like BoGs and PTAs need to be more involved in making sure the school provides quality education. This is desirable, stakeholders could make good decisions’ (TJ1). ‘This is one step that I would like to see functioning, heads should have more powers and knowledge to deal with situations. I appreciate decentralisation because it minimises costs and it shortens steps’ (TJ2). All parents saw it as desirable because it could be a good idea (PS1) as decentralisation would ensure availability of relevant expertise (PJ1).

*Not desirable:* None out of seventeen interviewees disagreed (not desirable) to the type of governance suggested in the scenario one model.

*Feasible:* Twelve interviewees out of seventeen (70.6%) said the scenario one model of governance was feasible. Two headquarters officials felt it is feasible because, to some extent, decentralisation empowers people to make decisions and has advantages such as expediting certain issues which would take a long time to sort out in a centralised system, and we are moving in this direction already (HqO2). But decentralisation in Botswana should not imply outright school autonomy, as the system would lose the overall national context. Decentralisation does remove certain duties from headquarters to empower local levels, but presupposes availability-equipped personnel who can take the initiative at the local level (HqO3). Three regional officers thought it was feasible as it would take services nearer to the schools. ‘Yes, they have autonomy, but that autonomy should not cut across legislation, directives and procedures. Procedures

should be followed as we currently have two types of communities (rural and urban) which have differences in terms of expertise, economy, and the level of education (CEO2). It is basically the essence of decentralisation, giving power to those in the regions to make local decisions, and timelessly (quick) deliver service to the community. Further training will be based on the needs of individuals as identified in their services, as we are gradually practising this (CEO4). Two heads HS1 and HS2 think this model of governance is feasible for the same reasons they thought it desirable.

Three teachers also thought it feasible. It is true and very possible, as stakeholders have more local knowledge (TS2). Stakeholders could make good decisions (TJ1). Heads should have more powers and knowledge to deal with situations. This is practically possible, as stakeholders are not given enough power, and with sufficient inservice things could happen (TJ2). Both parents saw this model feasible and very possible to be applied by looking at the market demands (PS1). 'Decentralisation should ensure availability of relevant expertise. We wish to operate in this way provided we have available expertise' (PJ1).

*Not feasible:* Five interviewees out of seventeen (29.4%) dismiss the scenario one model of governance as not feasible at all. One headquarters official thought currently it is only those areas where it is believed there is sufficient expertise that can be decentralised, as there must be people to do the job (HqO1). 'This is not very possible and practical as heads and regional education officers are fine, but parent communities are not well educated to make good decisions in education, even the Boards of Governors' (CEO3).

Two heads were also sceptical: ‘we should not be oblivious of disparities in standards that are likely, as this would create problems of inequity and stakeholders are really not ready to take education over the bridge’ (HJ1). There should be experienced educationists and at the moment this is not possible. The quality of stakeholders such as governors is questionable, and the standard of education they have can not help them understand what education needs (HJ2). A teacher thought it was not feasible due to lack of expertise and communities are not ready although they may be in urban areas (TS1).

#### ***6.3.1.4 Regulation***

Scenario one states:

Education control in Botswana is more centralised as the control is bench-marked by the Education Act and Code of Regulations, and this makes headquarters more accountable than schools. But conditions in Botswana need a devolved system that will make schools more accountable by infusing the market mechanism whereby good schools attract students, and if not, they close down. Schools will aim for quality results, and teachers will be motivated to perform and get profit for doing a good job. They will fear losing their jobs if they do not perform. Parents and students will choose schools that offer quality education. School quality will be determined by their examination results.

*Desirable:* Eleven interviewees out of seventeen interviewees (64.7%) felt the regulation of education in the way it is described in scenario one is desirable. All headquarters officials see this as desirable indeed. A little decentralisation that has been achieved so far is leading to the given scenario (HqO1). Currently education is still very centralised especially at secondary school levels, but we are gradually moving towards decentralisation albeit with limited resources at our disposal (HqO2). HqO3 concurred, there is still considerable central control in the Botswana education system, but there

are areas for which the schools are held directly accountable and with increased decentralisation, this level of accountability should increase.

Two regional officers thought this model of regulation was desirable because the Education Act and Code of Regulations currently in place was made for a centralised system and it is time they are reviewed to conform to decentralised structures (CEO3). Public services are taken to where people are, such that they are at the school nearest to them. This is what is desirable because if there are several schools there, then they choose the best (CEO4).

Two heads saw this model as desirable, as it could foster competition and the non-performers would fall by the wayside and no child will go to a failing school (HS2). If schools were to follow this model, teachers would take their work more seriously knowing that failure might lead to losing their jobs (HJ1).

Two teachers thought the model was desirable, as it would push teachers to work hard (TJ1). TJ2 was eloquent on this issue: 'A house becomes strong and beautiful if it started and finished by one constructor, schools just like families should be so'. Operating through instructions derails initiatives. Closing down of schools is possible and teachers should lose jobs if they do not perform, and quality can be determined through examinations. Both parents thought this model was desirable because closing down schools is possible (PS1). Schools should be empowered to be more accountable to community and jobs should not be taken for granted (PJ1).

Not desirable: Six out of seventeen interviewees (35.3%) disagreed (not desirable) to the type of regulation suggested in scenario one. Two regional officers think this model is not desirable. 'If we privatise this will happen. But, if we do not privatise, it will not happen. I think at the moment we cannot privatise' (CEO1). 'The situation of infusing the market mechanism is not yet relevant to our developing needs, because the less privileged citizens are bound to be mostly affected by this situation' (CEO2). Two heads thought the model was not desirable because 100% of students (all) cannot be admitted at senior schools, as only about 50% of them get admitted. Schools cannot close down (HS1). The problem would be that some schools would close down as stated. So, closing down schools is not possible because we do not have enough schools and this stage would be too early for us (HJ2). One teacher sees this model as not desirable because:

Educating an individual is like hunting for ivory, once you find the ivory, you also find attached an elephant (TS1).

He went on to elaborate: an individual is not educated in isolation, but the community as well. Practically we can not close schools, but parents should always be free to choose schools. Catchment area admission should be revisited to create more choice (TS1). In an ideal situation, all schools operate under the same conditions but they cannot, some schools would be disadvantaged because of the locality (TS2).

Feasible: Four interviewees out of seventeen (23.5%) said scenario one model of regulation is feasible. Two headquarters officials thought this model of regulation was feasible as (HqO2) for the same reason it was desirable. But HqO3 elaborated: whilst there is still considerable central control in the Botswana education system, there are areas for which the schools are held directly accountable with increased

decentralisation, and this level of accountability should increase. However, for now especially at secondary, there is still limited opportunity for parents to choose schools; however, generally parents would still want to have their children enrolled in “good schools”. One head thought it was feasible because if schools were to follow this model, teachers would take their work more seriously knowing that failure might lead to loss of jobs (HJ1). One parent saw the model as feasible because schools should be empowered to be more accountable and jobs should not be taken for granted (PJ1).

*Not feasible:* Thirteen out of seventeen interviewees (76.5%) dismissed the scenario one model of regulation as not feasible at all. One headquarters official saw this model as not feasible because ‘we cannot decentralise accountability as we do not have enough people’ (HqO1). Regional officers do not see this regulation model as feasible unless we privatise, but at the moment we cannot privatise (CEO1). The less privileged citizens are bound to be mostly affected by this model (CEO2). The Education Act and Code of Regulation do not conform to the decentralisation structures, and closing non-performing schools is not possible (CEO3). Schools cannot close down, as we are still trying to expand and that will be very expensive (CEO4). Three heads did not think the model feasible. Schools cannot close down, at the moment very few parents could choose schools, but choice has always been allowed (HS1). This is very desirable especially on competition, but for now it is not possible to practise, may be in future (HS2). The problem would be that some schools will close down as stated, but this stage is too early for us. Schools cannot admit their own students, set their own acceptable grades, as we do not have enough schools. So, closing down schools is not possible, but they are already choosing schools through quality results by means of transfer options (HJ2).

Teachers think this model is not feasible because an individual is not educated in isolation, but through the community as well. Practically we can not close schools (TS1). It is not really possible to close schools and lose teachers. We still need more schools at the moment (TJ1). It is not possible now because of staff shortages (TJ2). This model is not feasible because even though closing down schools is possible, admission problems will emerge (PS1).

#### ***6.3.1.5 Discipline***

As for discipline:

Schools not headquarters must handle teacher and student discipline. Governors need more power on teacher discipline. Discipline cases are still referred to headquarters in Botswana and this causes delays. Some students graduate before hearing the final verdict on their cases. Teachers' movements also makes it difficult to handle discipline case. Schools have full knowledge of students and staff and could handle cases on the spot more effectively.

*Desirable:* All interviewees felt the scenario one model of discipline was desirable. 'This is quite the case in my view and the approach is currently being addressed by Ministry of Education as we need this idea' (HqO1). 'Yes, schools should handle discipline cases especially relating to students. As it is now, schools do not augur very well for the maintenance of discipline at school level because centralisation of disciplinary cases results in delays. This is what we want, and the Act needs to be amended on aspects of discipline to give schools more power' (HqO2). Decentralisation should facilitate more involvement of teachers in handling teachers and students discipline cases. In fact there are certain disciplinary cases that come directly into the jurisdiction of the school administration or management (HqO3).

The regional officers concurred: 'Justice delayed is justice denied', this is desirable, and there should be education legal advisors in the regions (CEO1). At the moment a sizeable portion of students' discipline is at schools and regions except serious cases like expulsion. However, the Acts of Parliament still restricts teacher discipline to Teaching Service Management (department in headquarters) (CEO2). Students' discipline should end at school level for justice done to be seen (CEO3). 'This is ideal and should be implemented as soon as possible. It requires the review of the Education Act and Regulations (all statutory instruments), and the Teaching Service Act' (CEO4).

Heads joined this consensus: 'I agree with this idea, because the school is often seen as a toothless bulldog' (HS1). Disciplinary measures would be easier taken promptly on the ground, thereby enhancing productivity, as parents will be involved (HS2). This would empower schools to take appropriate decisions in good time and can make things easy (HJ1). If student discipline is handled at the school level it will help student discipline; teacher discipline should be a regional issue (HJ2).

The teachers also agreed it will be a welcomed idea and will empower on site administrators (TS1). If schools and regions are given the mandate with capable people who are different to those at the headquarters, they can discipline students and teachers (TS2). The idea is very desirable, as decentralisation would definitely help in solving cases quickly (TJ1). Heads should have the power, knowledge and skills to deal with issues without much referral (TJ2). Both parents want this model of discipline because it is a good idea, and even the Kgotla (traditional/tribal court) could be used to settle cases here (PS1). We wish this could happen, as it is very practical (PJ1).



Not desirable: None of the seventeen interviewees disagrees (not desirable) to desirability of the scenario one discipline model.

Feasible: Fifteen interviewees out of seventeen (88.2%) said the scenario one model of discipline was feasible. Three headquarters officials see this model of discipline as feasible. HqO2 and HqO3 elaborated on the 'desirability comments': Schools should have disciplinary committees and there is need for education legal advisors to work with the management team or committee (HqO2). 'I agree, decentralisation should facilitate more involvement of teachers in handling teachers and students discipline cases. But, it should be remembered that there would be need for the central level to set general control guidelines such that certain disciplinary cases come directly into the jurisdiction of the school administration or management' (HqO3).

Three of the regional officers stated the same reasons as they had when saying this scenario was desirable. Three heads felt this model of discipline was feasible, but HS2 noted that it would not be easy. Discipline is easier on the ground as parents are involved, but it could be difficult in some cases.

All teachers saw this model as feasible. It should involve counsellors, social workers and legal advisors, and if necessary there should be a disciplinary committee / board (TS1). Schools and even regions are given the mandate. Some body or board and Legal representative / advisor would be necessary to handle cases (TS2). Both parents saw this model as feasible but noted if discipline boards and committees are in place. However, knowledge of staff by local authorities could create corruption, but corruption

will always be there. The Kgotla could be used to settle cases here (PS1). Only very exceptional cases of discipline should be referred to headquarters for advice, again there is need for legal advisors at regional level to support this (PJ1).

*Not feasible:* Two out of seventeen interviewees (11.8%) dismissed the scenario one model of discipline as not feasible at all. One regional officer could not see this model as feasible because the Acts of Parliament still restrict teacher discipline to Teaching Service Management (department in headquarters), however, some discipline cases are handled at schools and regions except serious cases like expulsion. But, lawyers and courts should not run schools, and we do not need education legal advisors, nevertheless, we need strong lawyers at the Ministry of Education (CEO2). One head thought this model was not feasible at the moment, as there is a need for legal representation at the regions to advise all stakeholders on education, and ‘we have not got experience to operate this system’ (HJ2).

#### ***6.3.1.6 Manpower (human resources)***

Scenario one indicates that:

The Ministry of Education does not have enough manpower at headquarters, regions and schools to cope with expansion in the system as well as the decentralisation process. This has contributed to a lack of monitoring mechanisms and co-ordinators structures. Posts remain unfilled for a long time and there is always or danger of early appointment of unqualified, inexperienced, and less knowledgeable staff, especially at the posts of heads and heads of departments. Schools should determine teachers’ conditions of work and offer higher salaries as incentives where there is a shortage of teachers.

*Desirable:* Twelve out of seventeen interviewees (70.6%) felt the scenario one model of manpower is desirable. All headquarters officials wanted this model because the idea is good, while salaries depend on where the money is coming from (HqO1). The idea is

very desirable, but conditions and salaries should remain centralised, however, these may follow in future (HqO2). ‘Inadequate manpower provision in the Ministry should be appreciated within the context of government machinery including matters of attractive salary packages’ (HqO3).

Two regional officers thought this model was desirable. Presently it is desirable (CEO1), and ‘we do need this, but at the moment we cannot practice this’ (CEO2). Two heads saw this model as desirable because planning for decentralisation should take into consideration human resources and expansion (HS1). Teachers flatly refuse to go to certain areas, but allowances would encourage them to go, if there is recognition of differences in areas (HS2).

Three teachers wanted this model because schools are better placed to know who is capable and ready to assume posts of responsibility (TS1). Schools could do that as their decisions would be based on what the person to be promoted has demonstrated, unlike headquarters that rely on recommendations and letters, people at the site have local knowledge (TS2). ‘This is absolutely true, it should be the school or the department at the school that appoint experts’ (TJ2). Both parents wanted this model as it is a good idea, and there should be higher salaries in rural areas and schemes of service determined by region (PS1, PJ1).

Not desirable: Five out of seventeen interviewees (29.4%) disagreed. Two regional officers didn’t want this model because of inexperienced staff and disparity in salaries. ‘Where will they get funds to make this sustainable’ (CEO3). ‘There may not be sufficient funds to ensure cash flow for running education let alone offering attractive

salaries for teachers. It is not desirable' (CEO4). Two heads didn't want this model because if salaries are treated in this way, it will create problems of inequity (HJ1). Therefore, conditions need to be uniform, as salaries already have problems related to scarce skills at the moment (HJ2). One teacher didn't want this model especially when it comes to schools determining conditions of service (TJ1).

Feasible: Six out of seventeen interviewees (35.3%) said the scenario one model of manpower was feasible. Two heads suggested that this model is feasible as long as planning for decentralisation takes into consideration human resources and expansion.

HS1 sums up their view:

The idea is very possible if there is proper planning and manpower development. That is when there are new posts, prepare people first and deploy them (HS1).

Two teachers thought this model is feasible because people at the site have local knowledge and the creation of attractive salaries will be fine (TS2). Both parents thought the reasons for it being feasible were the same as it being desirable.

Not feasible: Eleven out of seventeen interviewees (64.7%) found the scenario one model of manpower not feasible at all. All headquarters officials could not see this model as feasible because: 'I do not believe that our schools are so far in a position to handle conditions of service for teachers. This is a very big job that needs human resources and the appropriate expertise. At the moment we do not have enough people. Shortage of manpower at both regional and headquarters levels is one of the serious issues, as no additional manpower has been created. Decentralisation so far has meant transferring some of manpower at headquarters to regions and this has resulted in thinly

spreading the available manpower. But, conditions and salaries should remain centralised' (HqO2). Inadequate manpower provision should be appreciated in the context of government machinery, and under the current situation it would not be possible for individual schools to offer separate / own pay salaries incentives to attract teachers (HqO3).

All the regional officers felt the model is not feasible because schools can not function in a privatised style (CEO1). Government works according to set procedures and guidelines, and there are financial limitations, therefore if this model were passed to schools and regions it would be even more disastrous. 'We do need this, but at the moment we cannot practice this' (CEO2). Inexperienced teachers who are seriously lacking in management skills have taken up most posts of responsibility and this makes the idea not possible due to inexperienced staff, and salaries would not be sustainable (CEO3). Private schools do that, but the model may not be possible with public schools, as funds may not be sufficient to ensure the cash flow for running education and offering attractive salaries for teachers (CEO4).

Two heads could not see the model as feasible. While the model might motivate teachers, on the other hand measures would have to be put in place to safeguard the interests of the students. The supervisor should be very strong to check whether students benefit, and salaries would have problems of inequity (HJ1). The rush to fill in vacant posts has had a negative effect on quality management and has even affected students' performance. This idea is not possible at the moment because conditions must be uniform especially on salaries (HJ2). Two teachers didn't see this model feasible because higher salaries in some areas will create a problem of inequity (TS1). There are

a lot of risks involved in the job, especially when it comes to schools determining conditions of service and salaries (TJ1).

#### 6.4 Scenario Two: Stakeholders group analysis

The analysis here deals with how the group positions in the educational structure is linked to stakeholders' views in terms of elements of scenario two model. The similarity of group views and differences (see table 6.2 below) between group views and views of other groups of stakeholders is also analysed using a counting method, presented in percentages to show the magnitudes of desirability and feasibility.

***Table 6.2: Similar group views and differences between group views and views of other groups of stakeholders in scenario two.***

<i>Respondents</i>	<i>Elements of the Scenario</i>					
	Funding	Provision	Governance	Regulation	Discipline	Manpower
<b>H Officials</b>						
HqO 1	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible
HqO 2	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible
HqO 3	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible
HqO 4	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
<b>R Officers</b>						
CEO 1	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Don't know No comment	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible
CEO 2	Not desirable Not feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible
CEO 3	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible
CEO 4	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible
<b>Heads</b>						
HS 1	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible

HS 2	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible
HJ 1	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible
HJ 2	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible
<b>Teachers</b>						
TS 1	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible
TS 2	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible
TJ 1	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible
	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible
<b>Parents</b>						
TJ 2	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible
PJ 1	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible
<b>Percentages</b>						
Desirable	D=15/17x 100=88.2%  ND=2/17x 100=11.8%	D=15/17x 100= 88.2%  ND=2/17x 100=11.8%	D=16/17x 100= 94.1%  ND=1/17x 100= 5.9%	D= 12/16x 100= 75%  ND=4/16x 100= 25%	D=17/17x 100= 100%  ND=0/17x 100= 0%	D=15/17x 100= 88.2%  ND=2/17x 100=11.8%
Feasible	F=10/17x 100=58.8%  NF=7/17x 100=41.2%	F=12/17x 100= 70.6%  NF=5/17x 100= 29.4%	F=12/17x 100= 70.6%  NF=5/17x 100= 29.4%	F= 11/16x 100= 68.8%  NF= 5/16x 100= 31.3%	F=15/17x 100= 88.2%  NF=2/17x 100=11.8%	F=11/17x 100= 64.7%  NF=6/17x 100= 35.3%

D= desirable. ND= not desirable. F= feasible. NF= not feasible.  
NA= Not Applicable (respondent unavailable).

**Average D% = (88.2 + 88.2 + 94.1 + 75.0 + 100 + 88.2) / 6 = 89%**

**Average F% = (58.8 + 70.6 + 70.6 + 68.8 + 88.2 + 64.7) / 6 = 70.3%**

#### **6.4.1 Similarity of the group views in scenario two**

The analysis of responses was undertaken in terms of both groups of stakeholders and individuals.

##### **6.4.1.1 Funding**

In the scenario two model:

Current government funding is not sustainable, money per child is not enough, and special needs cases are not catered for. The funding is highly centralised and this imposes limitations on how money is spent per student and teachers' salaries. If educators funding is fully decentralised to schools and regions, and skilled finance personnel made available to make decentralisation work, then the budget will be prepared according local and individual needs, and staff recruitment and payment will be determined by the budget. Regions and schools will learn to raise additional funds according to local needs by asking the parents to contribute to their children's education. If parents pay a part of the costs they will have a stake in their children's education and will therefore help to embed decentralisation in the system because will take an active interest in their children's education.

*Desirable:* Fifteen (88.2%) interviewees felt the scenario two model of funding was desirable. All headquarters officials said the model of funding was desirable because to some extent the budget takes account of local needs and it is a good idea which we are heading towards (HqO1). The idea is encouraged and government should continue to fund the bulk of the money (HqO2). The government's free education policy is no longer sustainable; more decentralisation would promote the generation of additional revenue from the community, and cost sharing would result in more parents taking a keen interest in the education of their children (HqO3).

Two regional officers said it was desirable. 'I believe schools must be innovative and should raise funds, we want parents to pay school fees' (CEO1). Cost sharing in education is the in-thing and it is fine (CEO3). All heads felt the scenario two model of funding was desirable. It is an ideal situation where parents and government would share the cost of education (HS1). This would enhance ownership and cultivate pride (HS2). Cost sharing is very necessary at the moment, where possible parents should pay as this will help them to develop an interest in their children's education and feel they



have a stake (HJ1). All teachers said this type of funding was desirable. Schools could raise additional funds and fund certain activities or programmes (TS1).

I agree with that, as every year the enrolment of each school is rising but funding is either maintained or reduced, but schools can generate money to cater for increase in the number of students and teachers, and government can aid schools with difficulties (TS2).

If schools had control of their budget, it would help develop the school at the appropriate time (TJ1). This is true and realistic, cases of vandalism will disappear and there will be more seriousness towards education, as both parties will share the costs (TJ2). Both parents thought it was desirable because government could top up where appropriate for purposes of equity (PS1), as part payment of fees by parents would be acceptable (PJ1).

Not desirable: Two (11.8%) interviewees (regional officers) felt the scenario two model of funding was *not desirable*. 'It is too early to rely on fund raising to run schools and regions, and if this was to happen I could see schools in rural areas more hard hit' (CEO2). At the moment there is need for equity in funding (CEO4).

Feasible: Ten interviewees (58.8%) felt this model of funding was *feasible*, for similar reasons. One headquarters official said free education was no longer sustainable, and that more decentralisation would promote the generation of additional revenue from the community, hence cost sharing would make more parents interested in education (HqO3). One regional officer saw it as feasible because schools must be innovative to raise funds, hence parents should pay fees (CEO1). All heads thought it was feasible to fund education using this model because there was a need for a more appropriate form

of funding where parents and government shared the cost (HS1), to enhance ownership of the system and cultivate pride in it, and avoid dependency (HS2). Government funding has limitations, where possible parents should pay, as this would help develop their interest, as cost sharing is very necessary to make parents feel they have a stake (HJ1). All schools should be government aided, and schools should actually pay and control teachers, and more trained personnel should be available to deal with school finance (HJ2). Three teachers thought it was feasible because schools could generate money to cater for increases in the number of students and teachers, and cost sharing by the community and government could aid schools with difficulties (TS2). If schools had control of their budget, it would help develop the school at the appropriate time (TJ1).

*Not feasible:* Seven interviewees (41.2%) said this model of funding was *not feasible*. Two headquarters officials disagreed because funding is centralised due to limited expertise, and so far schools have not been able to raise funds to build teachers houses and other facilities. It is therefore not practicable at the moment (HqO1).

Yes, funding is still centralised, because funds raised at school levels are insufficient. Government should continue to fund the bulk of the money (HqO2).

Three regional officers thought it was not feasible. It is too early to rely on fund raising to run schools and regions, and schools in rural areas would be hard hit (CEO2). Regions and schools in Botswana differ drastically in terms of economic powers and there is likely to be a serious imbalance and inequity in regions in terms of provision of facilities due to rural-urban differentials (CEO3). One teacher thought it was not feasible because not all schools could raise additional funds and fund certain activities

or programmes (TS1). One parent said ‘it may not be possible to raise additional funds, as most parents are not earning a regular salary, and additional fund raising to meet the budget line was difficult in the country’ (PJ1).

#### **6.4.1.2 Provision**

In scenario two:

The curriculum is centrally provided, including raw material (people). Teachers follow prescriptions, and only are allowed to bring in a little creativity. But a partially decentralised curriculum in which there is a centralised framework or set of principles that teachers have to follow but which they can address as they think appropriate for local conditions enable teacher creativity and meet both central and local demands.

*Desirable:* Fifteen out of seventeen interviewees (88.2%) felt the scenario two model of provision is desirable. Three headquarters officials thought the model was desirable as it was a good idea, but we have a complex curriculum that needs trained and qualified officers, and we currently do not have them (HqO1).

Yes, curriculum is still centralised but teachers participate in the development of the curriculum and are encouraged to be creative and innovative. This is what we want, it is already in place and just needs to be improved (HqO2).

There is need to strike a balance (HqO3). Two regional officers thought the idea was fine as long as there is availability of qualified personnel in the regions and schools (CEO3). This is desirable, but standards maintenance and monitoring need to remain centralised, as teachers could still exercise their creativity within the present curriculum (CEO4). All heads said the scenario two model of provision was desirable. A partially decentralised curriculum would be ideal to allow flexibility at school and leave room for special cases such as crop and animal production differences in areas (HS1). The

diversity of cultures in Botswana calls for decentralised curriculum provision (HS2). As for creativity, there is nothing to stop them from being creative within this framework (HJ1). 'I strongly agree with this set up. We need to have a central frame' (HJ2). All teachers said the model was desirable. 'Despite the National curriculum, methods of delivery and creativity have not been taken away. Creativity has always been left to the teachers' (TS1). It is desirable if teachers' innovation is allowed for diversity, to make the curriculum locally friendly, as some teachers have more knowledge about the area (TS2). 'This is what we want to be open for more ideas as teachers' (TJ1).

It is easier to present your own statement than to present an interpretation. Right now, teachers do not have a choice towards which textbook to use, all are prescribed and therefore the teachers are being enclosed. The National curriculum must be kept, but there is need for creativity (TJ2).

Both parents felt this model was desirable 'to give them a stake or share' (PS1), and partial decentralisation on the curriculum could be done with care to avoid some regions being disadvantaged (PJ1).

Not desirable: Two interviewees (11.8%) felt the scenario two model of provision was not desirable. These were regional officers who said some regions and schools may not provide education at the required standards and education would become difficult, hence the curriculum should remain centralised in order to maintain standards (CEO1).

'I do not think the system suggested here would prosper with the calibre of teachers in schools today. At the moment we are unfortunate because we are at development stage. Some teachers take teaching as last resort' (CEO2).

Feasible: Twelve interviewees (70.6%) felt the scenario two model of provision was feasible. Two headquarters officials said teachers participate in the development of the curriculum and are encouraged to be creative and innovative. 'Already this is in place and just needs to be improved' (HqO2). 'The observation is correct. Striking the balance between centralised control and flexibility would allow for local tradition and creativity and more teachers would meet both central and local demands' (HqO3). Two regional officers saw the model as feasible as long as regions and schools have qualified personnel available (CEO3). Teachers could still exercise their creativity within the present curriculum. This could be practised, but monitoring needs to remain centralised (CEO4). Two heads think this model is feasible because a partially decentralised curriculum would allow flexibility at school for special cases such as crop and animal production differences (HS1) and there is need for a central frame as creativity is very possible (HJ2).

The teachers who thought this was feasible said it was for the same reasons it was desirable. All parents thought it was very possible to give them the stake or share by having a regional curriculum committee to deal with curriculum issues (PS1). Partial decentralisation is feasible, but the movement of staff would disadvantage some places (PJ1).

Not feasible: Five interviewees (29.4%) said this model of provision was not feasible. A headquarters official thought this model was not feasible because we currently do not have trained and qualified officers to handle a complex curriculum. It is a good idea, but not practicable in the context of Botswana (HqO1). Two regional officers saw this model as not feasible. Some regions and schools may not provide the required standards

and education may become difficult, hence the curriculum should remain centralised (CEO1). The model suggested would not prosper due to the calibre of teachers in schools today. Two heads thought the model was not possible now, but would be in future (HS2). The teaching force is somewhat inexperienced and too young to be involved in such decisions, but it may work in the future (HJ1).

#### **6.4.1.3 Governance**

According to this scenario:

Schools and regions can be empowered through decentralisation mechanisms to deal with school finance, inspections and handle all matters of teacher welfare. So regions would allocate finance to schools and determine teachers' work conditions including pay. There will be parents' advisory councils in each region, where parents will be elected on a regional basis, to advise on the allocation of finance and teachers work conditions so that there is equity within regions. In this way the community will have a direct input into educational policy in the region. In the Botswana situation, empowerment of regions, schools and governors would bring services near to the people, provide effective co-ordination, and faster service delivery. It would remove hardships and inconveniences caused by lack of empowerment at regions and schools, referrals, communications, distance, delays, and create room for speedy implementations of government policy.

*Desirable:* Sixteen interviewees (94.1%) felt this model of governance was desirable.

All headquarters officials thought it was desirable. It is the direction we are following although it is still far from complete (HqO1). This is what we are moving to, as decentralisation is a phased in project where there is a need to psychologically prepare teachers and all the stakeholders (HqO2). The Ministry's on going decentralisation plans are in line with government's policy of getting services nearer to the people, they call for more active involvement of the local stakeholders and the community (HqO3). Three regional officers said it was desirable (CEO1) and power should be given to

regions for effective implementation of government policy (CEO3). Finance is a rather specialised area that requires budgeting and allocating money to schools but it is not a big deal, as such functions could be decentralised without causing serious problems and that is why the idea is desirable (CEO4). All heads saw it as desirable for decentralisation to take this form as there are qualified people to make good decisions (HS1) and it will be in consort with the current international trend on globalisation and global standards (HS2). If regions have the capacity to handle this it will be fine as more devolution is needed (HJ1). This is desirable provided the problem of getting parents who are capable to be on the finance committee is sorted (HJ2). All teachers saw this model as desirable because it is good as schools and regions should be in the end accountable to the headquarters (TS1). 'I agree with the model above, even to reduce problems due to delays in responding by the central headquarters, differences come from different regions and people at the regions know conditions at the regions' (TS2). This is very desirable, as decentralisation would help provide faster service (TJ1). This is quite true. Our country is spread and all distances to the capital town are too long hence a lot of delays, too much expenses and communication break down (TJ2). Both parents thought it was desirable as they are ready to do this provided there is enough consultation (PS1), empowerment and decentralisation are good and the idea is practicable provided the funding source is available to increase funds (PJ1).

Not desirable: One interviewee (5.9%) saw the scenario two model of governance as not desirable because 'the crop of parents we have across the country is not well placed for this. Only in urban areas would this be of any benefit. My experience is that the Boards of Governors' calibre in other places is questionable' (CEO2).

*Feasible:* Twelve interviewees (70.6%) said the scenario two model of governance was feasible. Two headquarters officials see this model as feasible. However, one cautioned that it should not mean a complete breakaway from the centre, otherwise the system may lose national cohesion and co-ordination (HqO3). Three regional officers thought the model was practicable as well as desirable (CEO1, CEO3, CEO4).

The same applied to the heads and teachers. However, one parent added the reservation that: 'empowerment and decentralisation is good, but determination of payment of teachers implies more funds needed. The idea is feasible provided the funding source is available to increase funds' (PJ1).

*Not feasible:* Five interviewees (29.4%) said model (scenario two) of governance was not feasible. One headquarters official said the expertise in the schools and communities is inadequate, and the concept of Board of Governors is not working well so far. We have tried this but we have a problem with the quality of people. They are not motivated. We usually have retired people as Board members, but they are not enough (HqO1). CEO2 agreed. One head elaborated on problems he could foresee (HJ1). The other problem is getting parents who are capable to be in the finance committee. The idea is not possible at the moment due to lack of qualified personnel and checkpoints need to be in place to avoid tribalism (HJ2). One teacher took a similar view to HqO1: this is quite true as our country is spread and all distances to the capital city are too long and this causes a lot of delays, expenses and communication break down. However, the model of governance is not feasible because our communities are not educated enough to make good decision (TJ2).



#### 6.4.1.4 Regulation

As for regulation in scenario two:

Education in Botswana could be devolved to allow limited competition for student admission where possible. But all students will have the right to go to their local school. School and student performance will rise partly due to competition, where it is possible. School performance will differ, and parents will know the good performing schools. Schools will be more accountable to parents and the community. If schools fail they will answer to the community and this will enable community control of education. Regional inspectors and examination results, which will be published, will determine schools' quality. The parents' advisory council will monitor both the reports of the regional inspectors and the examination results.

Desirable: Twelve out of sixteen interviewees (75.0%) felt the model desirable. Two headquarters officers thought so because there is no reason why these activities can not be achieved within the status quo, as the idea is desirable at the moment (HqO1). Yes, with a devolved education system there is some degree of ownership and a sense of responsibility. This is desirable as there is need for regional competition. 'We are doing that, as a parental advisory council exists through the Board of Governors in schools' (HqO2). Two regional officers had the same view because the accountability of schools to local communities should be in the forefront of our education policy (CEO3), and anything that can enhance better performance should be encouraged (CEO4).

Three heads thought the model was desirable, as limited competition is possible and will improve performance (HS1). Furthermore, it would be in the interest of involving all stakeholders in the competition/quest for excellence (HS2). There should be no restrictions on which school the parents wish to send their children (HJ1).

Three teachers saw the model desirable if all the schools have similar catchment areas in terms of social background and vastness (TS2), as it would help in greater productivity in most schools in terms of results (TJ1). This is quite right as long as we have enough manpower, staffing, facilities and inspectors (TJ2). Both parents wanted this model even though they may have problems with variation in standards (PS1). Competition between schools and among students is healthy and there could be good results (PJ1).

Not desirable: Four interviewees (25.0%) saw the scenario two model of regulation as not desirable. One headquarters official thought so because there is still a need for centralised control given limited access to certain lines of the education system such as junior secondary education, hence the requirement for transparency in the selection procedures. Decentralisation through the regions could promote increased monitoring and evaluation of school performance (HqO3). One regional officer didn't think the model was desirable because, even with the present system parents still labour and have serious desires for their children to attend particular schools but this brings a share of problems.

Some schools have proved that they will not choose children because of unequal opportunities and access. There are many ways of making schools accountable to communities such as fee payments (CEO2).

The model is not desirable because 'history tells us that some regions are getting education for the first time and this makes competition unfair with other regions. The urban influence on learning will always create an out flow of bright students and this

can create problems of inequity' (HJ2). The model is not desirable because 'ace' teachers will be attracted to better paying schools (TS1).

Feasible: Eleven out of sixteen interviewees (68.8%) saw the scenario two model of regulation as feasible. Two headquarters officials said these activities could be achieved within the status quo, because decentralisation as planned seems to be leading there (HqO1). With a devolved education system there is some degree of ownership and a sense of responsibility. The three heads saw this model of regulation as feasible, as limited competition will improve performance, even given the limitations of transport, accommodation, and school locality (HS1). It would be in the interests of involving all stakeholders in the competition/quest for excellence. National standards would be set for schools to follow, and there will be a monitoring body such as the Board (HS2).

Three teachers had the same views for the same reasons as they thought it desirable. TJ1 and TJ2 elaborated: the idea is very practical, as it would help in greater productivity in most schools, and 'we are even doing it now' (TJ1). A little competition for admission is very possible, it is even there at the moment (TJ2). Both parents thought it feasible and PS1 noted: Parents' Council could even do the evaluations and the school and community could do the planning (PS1).

Not feasible: Five out of sixteen interviewees (31.3%) said the scenario two model of regulation is not feasible. HqO3 rejected the idea for the same reasons as it was undesirable. CEO4 although thinking it desirable did not think it feasible. Parents' participation has been on the decline lately and PTAs do not perform as expected. We expect this to happen as said, but it is difficult to put into practice due to the level of

education and quality of the community. HJ2 who thought it undesirable thought it non-feasible, and TS2 who thought it desirable rejected its feasibility.

#### **6.4.1.5 Discipline**

As for discipline:

Decentralisation of the Botswana education system, ideally, could bring discipline strategies closer to places where offences occur. If schools and regions are given authority to handle all student and teacher discipline cases, then the offenders will know that action could be taken on the spot.

Desirable: All interviewees said this model of discipline was desirable. All headquarters officials wanted this model of discipline because it has been recognised by the Ministry of Education that this was overdue, especially the Education Act, and ‘we have started the process of achieving this’ (HqO1). To some extent it will improve the behaviour and conduct of both teachers and students (HqO2). ‘The observation is correct, subject to the observance of a minimum set of broad policy guidelines at the central level for guidance and consistency purposes’ (HqO3). ‘Yes, this is desirable’ (CEO1), and the authority to handle all student discipline at regional level should be the norm, such that only appeals are handled at headquarters. As for teachers, Acts will have to change before this could be achieved (CEO2). Immediate action should be taken in terms of discipline and all legal procedures taken into consideration (CEO3). The idea is desirable, and perhaps the best approach (CEO4). This is an ideal situation and trust should be displayed, as schools are now toothless (HS1). It would also help monitor and control teacher behaviour because individual teachers would be known ‘well’ by their supervisors (HJ1). Discipline needs to take place at ground level, however there is lack of education of heads regarding discipline cases, and therefore,

there should be some training (HS2). This indeed would be good where heads discipline students, and regions discipline teachers (HJ2). All teachers had similar views about this model of discipline. 'But we must guard against absolute devolution, it corrupts, it must be controlled' (TS1). Structures such as committees/boards could be put in place for discipline to avoid a situation where only one person could discipline (TS2). This is what we want to: help deter cases of indiscipline in both students and teachers (TJ1).

If immediate supervisors have powers definitely indiscipline will disappear. It is easier to deal with your problem than to refer it (TJ2).

Both parents saw this model as desirable, as it would empower schools and regions to put things in control, and the community must have a hand in discipline (PS1). It would ensure that offenders do not get away without disciplinary action taken (PJ1).

Not desirable: None of the interviewees felt the scenario two model of discipline was undesirable.

Feasible: Fifteen out of seventeen interviewees (88.2%) viewed this model of discipline as feasible for the same reasons as it was desirable.

However, two interviewees rejected this view because of lack of education amongst heads as regards legal issues (HS2) and the requirement for a strong code of conduct (HJ2).

#### **6.4.1.6 Manpower (Human resources)**

In scenario two:

A decentralised education system creates effective service delivery, when there is enough availability of qualified, skilled and experienced human resources (manpower). Headquarters, regions and schools have acute manpower shortages. More people are needed to carry out duties, and to facilitate or fully decentralised system. Regions will determine manpower planning.

*Desirable:* Fifteen out of seventeen interviewees (88.2%) saw this model as desirable.

All headquarters officials thought the model was desirable because the current approach to decentralisation is one of gradual and step by step moves that they want (HqO1). Regions could determine manpower planning, and submit it to headquarters (HqO2). 'It goes without saying that effective service delivery would result from an effective and well resourced decentralised system' (HqO3). Three regional officers want this model because manpower is often planned, and shortages are not a result of lack of a planning, but mostly because welfare packages are not attractive and personnel not available (CEO1). Manpower provision is mainly a serious problem in the regions, and as such manpower planning should come to regions (CEO3). This is true and desirable, the number of schools and their sizes could determine manpower requirements. We are moving in that direction (CEO4).

All heads saw the model as desirable because decentralisation will always need additional human resources and government must be prepared to face the challenges in order to provide quality service, and regions should do the planning through estimates (HS1). There is a need for effective service delivery, but there are a lot of bottlenecks due to a lack of human resources (HS2). This model would result in decisions being taken at the appropriate time even though it requires a lot of manpower (HJ1). The

model would help distribute the quality manpower available, and as such headquarters should release this duty to regions and schools (HJ2).

Three teachers wanted this model, because when new subjects are introduced, it would be easy to find manpower within a shorter time to deal with cases of shortages (TJ1). PJ1 invested a particular vision in this scenario: decentralisation would contribute to effective service delivery and a small determined work force would start the process and keep it going.

Not desirable: Two interviewees felt scenario was undesirable. Because ‘manpower planning is on going, but, I think the country must cut its suit according to size. We know our financial status, and we plan according to the totality’ (CEO2). ‘A good model, but looking at the remoteness of some areas, urban areas are at an advantage because they would have a choice to get the best manpower available. Therefore, manpower allocation should remain centralised (TS2).

Feasible: Eleven out of seventeen interviewees (64.7%) felt the model was feasible. Two headquarters officials thought so, if it was adequately resourced, as regions would determine manpower planning, and submit it to headquarters (HqO2). An effective service delivery would result from a well-resourced decentralised system.

Two regional officers saw this model as feasible for the same reasons as it was desirable. Three of the four heads felt this model was feasible if government provided additional human resources to staff the regions, and regions doing planning (HS1). However, HJ2 qualified this view in an interesting way. ‘Yes, this will help distribute the quality manpower available. This is possible and can operate even now, but

headquarters is blocking this’. This is the comment to which we shall return. Two teachers and parents saw this model as feasible for the same reasons as it was desirable.

*Not feasible:* Six interviewees (35.3%) said this model was unfeasible. While HqO1 thought it as desirable, he insisted that ‘we can not have full decentralisation due to limited resources’. Two teachers didn’t see this model feasible because it militates against equitable sharing of personnel (TS1). Urban places are at an advantage because they would have a choice to get the best manpower available, and as such manpower allocation should remain centralised (TS2).

### 6.5 Scenario Three: Stakeholders group analysis

The analysis here deals with how the group positions in the educational structure is linked to stakeholders’ views according to the conditions offered by the scenario three model. The similarity of group views and differences are tabulated below.

***Table 6.3: Similar group views and differences between group views and views of other groups of stakeholders in scenario three.***

<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Elements of the Scenario</b>					
	Funding	Provision	Governance	Regulation	Discipline	Manpower
<b>H Officials</b>						
HqO 1	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible
HqO 2	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible
HqO 3	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible
HqO 4	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
<b>R Officers</b>						
CEO 1	No comment	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible



CEO 2	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Not desirable Feasible
CEO 3	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Feasible
CEO 4	Not desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible
<b>Heads</b>						
HS 1	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible
HS 2	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible
HJ 1	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Not desirable Feasible
HJ 2	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible
<b>Teachers</b>						
TS 1	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Feasible	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible
TS 2	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible
TJ 1	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible
TJ 2	Not desirable Not feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible
<b>Parents</b>						
PS 1	Desirable Not Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible
PJ 1	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Not feasible	Desirable Feasible	Desirable Feasible	Not desirable Feasible	Not desirable Feasible
<b>Percentages</b>						
Desirable	D= 14/16x 100=87.5%	D= 15/17x 100= 88.2%	D= 17/17x 100= 100%	D= 14/17x 100= 82.4%	D= 9/17x 100= 52.9%	D= 13/17x 100= 76.5%
	ND=2/16x 100=12.5%	ND=2/17x 100= 11.8%	ND= 0/17x 100= 0%	ND= 3/17x 100= 17.6%	ND= 8/17x 100= 47.1%	ND= 4/17x 100= 23.5%
Feasible	F=14/16x 100=87.5%	F= 12/17x 100= 70.6%	F= 10/17x 100= 58.8%	F= 17/17x 100= 100%	F= 10/17x 100= 58.8%	F= 17/17x 100= 100%
	NF=2/16x 100=12.5%	NF=5/17x 100= 29.4%	NF= 7/17x 100= 41.2%	NF= 0/17x 100=0%	NF= 7/17x 100= 41.2%	NF= 0/17x 100= 0%

D= desirable. ND= not desirable. F= feasible. NF= not feasible.  
NA= Not applicable (Respondent unavailable).

**Average D% = (87.5 + 88.2 + 94.1 + 82.4 + 52.9 + 76.5) / 6= 80. 3%**

$$\text{Average F\%} = (87.5 + 70.6 + 58.8 + 100 + 58.8 + 100) / 6 = 79.3\%$$

### ***6.5.1 Similarity of the group views in scenario three***

The response analysis was done in terms of both groups of stakeholders and individuals, to establish whether people's positions in the education structure are linked to their views about this scenario.

#### ***6.5.1.1 Funding***

In scenario three:

The funding of operational budgets and special needs budgets in Botswana should be decentralised to schools. All other funding should remain at the Centre. At the moment, personnel at the regional and school level are not sufficiently skilled to handle budgets. Teacher and personnel transfer resistance from urban areas to rural areas would be a big problem in the system, if it were fully decentralised, unless some means of attraction through higher rural payments is implemented. But such a policy would create problems of funding and inequity in salaries. To avoid this, funding of staff, teachers and their work conditions will remain centralised. Therefore, the rationale for parents paying fees loses its strength, as the headquarters (centre) will retain considerable financial power. What is devolved to schools via the regions is day to day operation budgets and special needs funding.

*Desirable:* Fourteen out of sixteen interviewees (80.3%) indicated that the scenario three model of funding was desirable. All headquarters officials expressed similar views on desirability: currently each school gets funds to handle day to day activities, while teachers' salaries need to be kept centralised due to lack of resources (HqO1). It is desirable, as long as resources are equitably distributed to all regions and there are clear policies on deployment and teachers salaries (HqO2). Centralisation of certain aspects of the education system should not make the rationale for parental payment lose

strength as fees only complements centralised government funding efforts. Presently in Botswana there is no basis for different regional salary structures due to the present teacher employment terms and funding arrangements for the education system (HqO3). One regional officer (CEO1) had no comment. But two regional officers said it was desirable: we are doing this at the moment, and we want this to continue for some time (CEO2). Operational budgets can be decentralised to schools, but funding of teachers' salaries should remain centralised with a lot of incentives for those who teach in remote areas (CEO3).

All heads said 'schools have little say on staffing of schools and government contribution will always be greater than parents' contribution, and therefore have more power' (HS1). I am for a decentralised budget, as uniformity disregards differences (HS2). 'This arrangement would guard against schools going bankrupt due to mismanagement of funds as this would enable the centre to ensure equitable distribution of resources in certain areas' (HJ1). School fees should be paid and remote area allowances should be increased as an incentive for transfers. The region should be given a chance to budget for itself and include all aspects including salaries and there should be some form of central control (HJ2).

Three teachers think it is desirable because decentralisation empowers people at school level, even though regions and schools are not on an equal footing (TS1). This is partially fine as cost sharing will be fine, but at the moment we still have the central funding for purposes of equity and uniformity (TS2). However, one teacher misunderstood that parents would not pay fees:

This is what we want. We need things to motivate teachers. Parents should pay fees. Government should continue with the bulk of funding (TJ1).

while another parent felt that Government funds should be supplemented: Government can still remain as main provider, but we can raise supplementary funds, as there is need for cost sharing (PS1). PJ1 agreed that teachers in remote/rural areas should be given allowances as incentives, as this would not be inequality in salaries.

Not desirable: Two out of sixteen interviewees (12.5%) indicated that this model of funding was undesirable. One regional officer said it was not desirable because funds can not be adequately generated at the regional and school levels and at the moment schools and every level of the hierarchy handles budgetary estimates quite well. This apparent misunderstanding is then qualified by CEO4: it is not very desirable, as government would still play a major part by keeping funding centralised. A teacher thought it was undesirable because it is not very possible to fund education in this way. But there should be cost sharing, and government should top up where there are shortages (TJ2).

Feasible: Fourteen interviewees (87.5%) indicated that this form of funding was feasible. Two headquarters officials, HqO1 and HqO3 thought it feasible, as did all regional officers. All heads agreed, one commenting:

I am for decentralised budget. Uniformity disregards differences.  
But uniformity is practicable. Therefore the idea is possible (HS2).

Another one noted that, the idea is feasible and possible now, however some regions are poorer, and there is a need to have some form of central control (HJ2).

Three teachers felt this model was feasible because decentralisation has its pros and cons, but empowers people at school level. However, regions and schools are not on an equal footing, and regions can always acknowledge where they are unable to fund (TS1). It is feasible if there is partial decentralisation, which allows for cost sharing and central funding for purposes of equity and uniformity (TS2). Conditions of service should be favourable to teachers and the government should consider giving teachers in certain areas allowances to encourage them to go and teach there, as there is a need to motivate teachers. Parents should pay fees, but government should continue with the bulk of the funding (TJ1). Both parents saw it as feasible for the same reasons it was desirable.

It should be noted that this scenario may not have been sufficiently clear because several thought it involved an element of parental co-payment; alternatively, they sought to qualify the scenario in this way.

*Not feasible:* Two interviewees indicated that this model of funding was unfeasible. One headquarters official said it was not feasible because this will not create problems of inequitable distribution of resources to all regions, unless there are clear policies and regulations governing deployment and teachers salaries (HqO2).

#### ***6.5.1.2 Provision***

Provision for scenario three involves:

There is need for some forms of decentralisation, but it is too early to decentralise fully the curriculum. The curriculum can be diversified only where necessary to allow schools and teachers to respond to

specific local needs. But such initiatives would be limited. Botswana is still developing and needs some form of uniformity and equity in the provision. It is possible to decentralise education provision, if infrastructure and qualified personnel are made available. However, the quality of production of teachers has gone down due to expansion, and the headquarters is needed to recruit, train and deploy teachers for purposes of equity and quality, and to avoid haphazard teaching and learning.

*Desirable:* Fifteen out of seventeen interviewees (88.2%) indicated that the scenario three model of provision was desirable. All headquarters officials thought so because this is the current position (HqO1), and I agree for the sake of uniformity and consistency, this is what we want and we are moving towards that (HqO2). This statement is entirely correct, the present Botswana education system cannot go the way of 100% decentralisation as the education system would have no national cohesion and co-ordination, lack of unified control of standards and militate against the need for equity (HqO3).

Three regional officers agreed that model was desirable, one commenting that it is too early to decentralise the curriculum, but I do not agree that the quality of production of teachers has gone down, as in fact it has gone up. Training of teachers is centralised but deployment has been decentralised and recruitment is coming to regions as well (CEO2). It is exactly as stated but we should exercise a lot of care in decentralising our education system and I agree with this idea as it is very desirable and fine (CEO3).

Three heads felt it was a more appropriate idea for the present (HS1), as we have reached a state of near adequacy and are almost ready (HS2). But it is too early to

diversify the curriculum as teacher expertise is still questionable and we are still developing (HJ1).

All teachers thought the same: we are ready to operate in this way (TS1), and would agree with the above assertion whole-heartedly, even though we would need National standards and uniformity (TS2). The idea is desirable such that the curriculum is modified to include more examples of the Botswana situation (TJ1). However a change in the curriculum needs carefulness and proper planning and as such government should remain central in the provision to avoid inequity in teaching (TJ2). Both parents think it is desirable because we need some form of uniformity, and some advisors at the regions and schools to work along with us (PS1). Uniformity is still needed as students write the same examinations in the end, therefore, the curriculum should remain centralised especially in the core components (PJ1).

Not desirable: Two interviewees (11.8%) indicated that this view was undesirable. One regional officer thought so because the curriculum cannot be fully decentralised and should never be, as infrastructure and personnel are a basic necessity, and key to decentralisation. Expansion has already compromised quality in many areas and therefore this is not desirable for purposes of standards, uniformity and equity (CEO4). A head said the control is necessary for purposes of examinations and the National curriculum. Again mass teacher production must be on the decline now, and regions should not frame their own contract. There is need to remain mainly centralised (HJ2).

Feasible: Twelve interviewees (70.6%) indicated that the scenario three model of provision was feasible. For the same reasons it was desirable.

*Not feasible:* Five interviewees (29.4%) indicated that this model was not feasible. This is three more than thought it desirable. Of these three, HJ1 thought it was too early to diversify the curriculum, as teacher expertise is still questionable and we are still developing, while TJ2 observed: change in the curriculum needs carefulness and proper planning and enough research on the local needs and consultation has to be done before an official document could be drafted. Therefore government should remain central in the provision to avoid inequity in teaching. One parent (PJ1) was mindful of the need for uniformity because of the examination system: uniformity is still needed, as students write the same examinations in the end, and the curriculum should remain centralised especially in the core components (PJ1).

#### **6.5.1.3 Governance**

In scenario three governance involves:

Decentralisation processes bring mechanisms of power sharing at the centre, regions, schools, and amongst all stakeholders. However, if decisions are largely by the Centre then resources can be equitably distributed between urban and rural schools. There are tendencies of being hesitant to share power, or lose power. “If I have to share power I cannot control” (Interviewee). Power sharing is possible, but people still believe headquarters can perform better than schools and regions, and think the headquarters should keep some power on policy matters such as the national curriculum, standards, monitoring and co-ordination. The legal position on authority and decision making is not clear and this contributes to a lack of power sharing. Stakeholders at the regional and local level will have representation on school boards and will determine specific schools’ policies and allocate the operating budget.

*Desirable:* All seventeen interviewees indicated that the scenario three model of governance was desirable. All headquarters officials saw this model as desirable because power sharing seems not to be the issue, what is pertinent is the availability of



personnel at all levels to handle the authority and decision making processes, and as such government must continue to retain power (HqO1). A decentralised system benefits the teachers in most cases, and this is desirable, the legal clarity is necessary and accountability must go alongside with power sharing (HqO2). The present day Botswana context dictates control at the central level continues with devolution of certain roles to the local level. This approach takes a realistic view of the limitations of the system as of now (HqO3).

All regional officers agreed, because the legal position must be clear (CEO1). A developing country needs uniform policies and equitable distribution of the limited resources and as such accountability remains with the head of the institution (CEO2). Yes many still believe this view because devolution of power is a slow process. The idea is desirable, and will be coming in future (CEO4). All heads agreed because the involvement of all stakeholders would be enhanced (HS2). Power sharing is very necessary if schools are to perform better as this would render them accountable for the students' outcomes (HJ1). Power sharing is good but we need experience to have it, the experience of the leader and those being led to remove any suspicions (HJ2).

All teachers have similar views because if equity is addressed, then power sharing should be welcomed. An advisory council could operate, and more power should be devolved together with accountability (TS1). A very good assertion, as there are some difficult areas and conditions, and this makes the centre very crucial (TS2). Power needs to be shared and the legal position must be made clear (TJ1). To me, having it as it as stated above is fine, but regions should be fully involved for proper governance. Power sharing should go with accountability. Everybody should be accountable if

empowered (TJ2). Both parents concurred; power sharing through establishment of boards is important and transparency is needed. The legal instruments must be clear and power sharing must be coupled with accountability (PJ1).

Not desirable: None of seventeen interviewees indicated that this scenario was undesirable.

Feasible: Ten interviewees (58.8%) indicated that the scenario three model of governance was feasible. Three regional officers agreed if the legal position is clear (CEO1). The current status quo needs to change to give more power to the regions. Power sharing should go with accountability and the legal instruments need to be clear as well (CEO3). CEO4 also emphasised the need for legal clarity: the legal position is not clear and it is currently being addressed. It will be coming in future, if the legal position is made clear accountability needs to follow power sharing.

Two heads thought it feasible but one warned: Power sharing is very necessary and possible if schools are to perform better as this would render them accountable for the students' outcomes. By nature people are hesitant to share power because the legality of the matter is a problem, especially the constitution (HJ1). One parent picked up on these concerns:

Ga go poo pedi mosakeng (there can't be two bulls in one kraal when it comes to power). People want to do things their own way. Transparency is needed. The legal instruments must be clear. Power sharing must be coupled with accountability. These must pair with decentralisation process (PJ1).

Not feasible: Seven interviewees (41.2%) indicated that this scenario was unfeasible. All headquarters officials said the model was not feasible because power sharing is not the issue, but availability of personnel at all levels to handle the authority and decision making processes is pertinent. HqO1 made the most candid and precise statement about the nature of power and decentralisation so far: Government still has more power as we only decentralise duties, while structures are based on power and the legal position. 'We are to share power but we still keep power. Instead we delegate'. HqO2 saw this position as a problem: 'this is one of the main problems delaying decentralisation where people fear shedding some power to regions and local levels. We are fighting the attitude, as power goes with status and recognition. Legal clarity is necessary, and accountability must go along side with power sharing'. HqO3 took a middle position: the Botswana context dictates that control at the central level continues with devolution of certain roles to the local level. This should not be construed as reluctance by headquarters to give away some of its powers, because this approach has a realistic view of the limitations of the system as of now (HqO3).

CEO2 thought it unfeasible because it would take time to clarify the legal position. One head returned to the concern with corruption: 'power is a problem because power corrupts. Complete power corrupts completely. Experienced people are not always available. Accountability is possible but hurdles must be cleared. HJ2 said, maybe in future this is an idea. TS2 was concerned about the quality of the boards due to the fact that: some schools have students from almost all parts of the country. This makes it difficult for the parents who could not make it to those schools. Areas differ. The quality of boards also differs. Some schools have mainly new staff. There are some difficult areas and conditions, and this makes the centre very crucial.

#### **6.5.1.4 Regulation**

On regulation, scenario three states that:

In Botswana, schools and regions are expected to feed the headquarters with information for the modification of policies. The Ministry of Education sets standards of performance and control, and make schools accountable to the headquarters. The issue of competition for admission cannot occur equitably between urban and rural areas. Closing down schools due to under performance is not possible since in many areas there is only one school. The rural communities lack knowledge about education, and prefer schools being accountable to the regions and headquarters. Central and regional inspectors and examination results will monitor and regulate school quality.

*Desirable:* Fourteen out of seventeen interviewees (82.4%) indicated that this model of regulation was desirable. All headquarters officials agreed because: it is very desirable and to some extent the model appears to be the case (HqO1). The reason for controlling resources at the centre is to ensure uniformity in the use of resources and consistency in policy implementation (HqO2). 'Breaking away from the current arrangement could certainly lead to an increase in disparities across the country' (HqO3).

All regional officers wanted this model as they said: yes, this idea is desirable (CEO1), schools are accountable to government who is accountable to the nation. The opposite might not be appropriate due to the size of the population and meagre finances (CEO2). At the moment, schools account to both the regions and headquarters (CEO3). Schools and regional offices are at the ground level where implementation takes place and success/failure of policy is easily observed there. 'Competition for admission exists minimally as some schools poach good students' (CEO4).

Three heads concurred, as it is an ideal thing (HS2), and it would not be a problem if proper guidance were provided with relevant expertise from stakeholders (HJ1). The last two sentences in the model are true and accountability is okay but as stated earlier you need the people who know what they are doing in the community (HJ2). Two teachers thought the model was desirable, one said: on this point, I would rather say all has been said. It is complete, as it is (TS2). TJ2 agreed because: National development depends on the National Development Plans. It is not possible to account to communities due to lack of knowledge about what should happen in education.

Both parents saw the model as desirable; as one noted: headquarters involvement is still important on policy issues and guidelines on bottom up approach (PJ1).

Not desirable: Three interviewees (17.6%) indicated that this model of regulation was undesirable. One head thought that expansion in the system will make a centralised system more and more difficult to sustain and schools should account to their community as they serve the community (HS1). Two teachers thought the model was undesirable because school quality would be best controlled and determined by local communities, and communities would still adhere to national standards (TS1). If the results are poor, all stakeholders should sit and discuss on how to improve (TJ1).

Feasible: All interviewees indicated that the scenario three model of regulation was feasible. All headquarters officials said that to some extent this appears to be the case as it is what is being practised (HqO1). Controlling resources at the centre ensures uniformity in the use of resources and consistency in policy implementation, and 'I agree with the idea and it can be possible to work this way. It is practical as long as it is

controlled national examinations' (HqO2). 'Breaking away from the current arrangement could certainly lead to increases in disparities across the country' (HqO3).

All regional officers thought the idea was practicable although one thought that schools should account to community as well (CEO3). All heads agreed but with provisions. 'I agree with the statement, it is not possible to change now, because the situation does not allow room for change, but it may be possible in the future' (HS2). This is very possible, however, schools that are not performing should close down, because expansion has been on for some time (HJ1). At the moment the model above is okay because accountability needs people who know what they are doing in the community. The problem is the standard of education in the community (HJ2). All teachers see the model as feasible but were concerned about standards if schools could not be closed down as one observed (TS2). If the results are poor all stakeholders should discuss on how to improve them, as it is not possible to close schools, however we need to monitor performance (TJ1). One parent also saw it as the most feasible model at the moment (PS1). Headquarters involvement is still important on policy issues and guidelines on bottom up approach. 'We still need the centre and we can not be totally independent, unless we privatise. I agree with the statement and I wish for this to continue for a while'. 'Get people educated enough!' (PJ1).

*Not feasible:* None of seventeen interviewees indicated that this model was unfeasible.

#### ***6.5.1.5 Discipline***

The scenario three discipline model:

Decentralisation could enable schools and regions to handle teachers and students discipline cases. The country is wide and the schools are many now. Head office cannot cope with all the many cases of discipline. But, heads and regional officers are still on the learning curve. Other areas have inexperienced personnel and expertise shortages. The legal implication of handling some cases is beyond the expertise of schools and regions. People are still sceptical about change, and do not trust the changed structures in education. Headquarters will continue to be centrally involved in discipline cases.

*Desirable:* Nine out of seventeen interviewees (52.9%) indicated that this model of discipline was desirable. All headquarters officials thought so because the situation is likely to change in favour of regions and schools in the near future, as it is already planned. Legal advisors are in the regions, although they are not directly involved in education (HqO1). This is what we want despite the fact that there are still teething problems of inexperienced officers at the regions, as there are some observable significant benefits to the decentralised system (HqO2). Increased decentralisation should result in increased local involvement in matters such as discipline and personnel empowerment at the decentralised structures (HqO3). All regional officers agreed because change can not be avoided and where there is no expertise it must be created (CEO1). 'I think discipline cases for students are now handled at schools and regions, except for expulsion. Teachers' discipline needs to be addressed more carefully and cautiously. Teachers' discipline should be treated with care by parents, regions and headquarters' (CEO2). Discipline cases should be decentralised to schools and regions (CEO3). 'Yes, headquarters cannot cope with all discipline cases. Yes we are still learning. Headquarters may continue to dominate but the stand taken is that the law and other statutory instruments be revised to devolve responsibility to schools and regions. The idea is desirable, we need this to be more effective' (CEO4).

Two teachers thought this model was desirable because schools should be given a chance to handle discipline locally (TJ1). But as one cautioned: ‘when it comes to discipline, supervisors should be knowledgeable and conversant with human rights’ (TJ2).

*Not desirable:* Eight interviewees (47.1%) indicated reservations about this model of discipline although most felt it would be desirable in the near future. All heads thought decentralisation should proceed gradually to avoid areas where people have had no training (HS1). People need to be adequately prepared for this change so that they could take these decisions, and we are just about ready (HJ1). Yes, headquarters cannot afford to handle all cases. Heads can discipline or even expel students. Regions can do the same for teachers, given a clear-cut code of conduct (HJ2). Two teachers did not see this model as desirable. One insisted that the appropriate mechanisms were in place. Mechanisms should be in place at schools and only if disciplinary committees are created to deal with these matters rather than individual persons.

*Feasible:* Ten out of seventeen interviewees (58.8%) indicated that the scenario three model of discipline was feasible. All headquarters officials said it was likely to change in favour of regions and schools in future: there are some observable significant benefits to decentralised systems. Some bits in the model could be practised and there is a need for legal advisors at the regions to support this (HqO2). The model would require that local structures be provided with appropriately qualified staff in order to cope with the increased complexity of issues that will need to be handled at the local level (HqO3). Two regional officers agreed because: change is unavoidable and where there is no expertise it must be created, as expertise like experience is not inborn, and it is possible



if the expertise is available (CEO1). Discipline cases should be decentralised to schools and regions. The idea is very possible and there is need for in-service training, documents, legal advisors, and board/committees (CEO3). Three teachers supported this model as some noted: with powers vested, it should be possible to decentralise certain cases to reduce delays. It is practicable to change provided power is given to schools and regions, and policies changed (TJ2). Parents had the same views. However PJ1 qualified her support. Each case should be looked at separately including legal implications in this model. This could be feasible and practical if the Attorney General's Chambers is decentralised to provide education legal advisors (PJ1).

Not feasible: Seven interviewees (41.2%) indicated that the scenario three model of discipline was not feasible. Two regional officers didn't see this model as feasible because: teachers' discipline needs to be addressed more carefully and cautiously by parents, regions and headquarters. The issue is not expertise, but there is need for training on how to handle discipline cases; however, 'we usually investigate cases as a group' (CEO2). Headquarters may continue to dominate but the stand taken is that the law and other statutory instruments should be revised to devolve responsibility to schools and regions. To follow the same structure as we develop we need legal advisors or desk officers. Headquarters need to decentralise this, but it is not practical (CEO4).

All heads said decentralisation should proceed gradually alongside training and legal expertise to advise. People in education need to change their attitude and accept change (decentralisation) (HS1). Until such a time that training and legal course are in place, it may not be possible. But, it should be possible with private schools. Training and manpower should be in place (HS2). People need to be adequately prepared for this

change so that they can take these decisions; there is need for the running of workshops, legal advisors, committees or boards (HJ1). Discipline structures should be in place first. There should be a legal advisor and a clear-cut code of conduct, at the moment it may not be possible if these are not in place (HJ2).

#### ***6.5.1.6 Manpower (Human resources)***

According to scenario three:

Regions and school are still under staffed. The scheme of service is failing to attract experienced and qualified staff, as salaries are not attractive. The manpower shortages differ from region to region and from school to school. There is a virtually, an accepted belief that, where there are shortages in schools and regions, the centre should take-over the responsibilities for addressing the issue.

*Desirable:* Thirteen out of seventeen interviewees (76.5%) indicated that this model of manpower was desirable. 'This is what we want and it is happening, it is the current belief (HqO1). It is very much desired, but it is bottlenecked by unattractive schemes of service (HqO2). The present staffing constraints should be seen in the overall context of government machinery or the public service; however, the constraints should not negate the advantages of decentralisation (HqO3). Two regional officers wanted this model because it is desirable if the shortfalls are attended to (CEO1), and headquarters should take responsibility for employing officers (CEO4). Three heads said staffing in schools / regions should be balanced and decentralised functions equated to staffing, and headquarters should continue to dominate until the posts / manpower is readily available (HS1). Decentralisation has been put in motion and should be seen to the end and we are reaching there (HS2). I agree that there is a need for autonomy with reference to staffing, but it all boils down to inequity when it comes to urban and rural schools, so

the centre is needed for purposes of equity (TS2). TJ1 qualified her support: schools should be allowed to employ teachers looking at the shortages they have in the school. This is desirable, but we still need the centre. TJ2 had a different reason for his support: I agree with it if it means looking for manpower from abroad or outside the country. If schools employ / recruit it will be more difficult especially when it comes to foreigners, as it is not easy to see the other side of the country for quality staff.

A parent thought the model was feasible because 'government should face the blame if it has not met our estimates, but we should face the responsibility if we haven't asked for enough numbers' (PS1).

Not desirable: Four interviewees (23.5%) indicated that the scenario three model of manpower was undesirable. Two regional officers saw this model as undesirable, even though 'regarding staffing it is true, the scheme of service is fine and not failing, as you can not satisfy human nature particularly on salaries. With shortages it is true, but it is not true that it should be headquarters' responsibility alone; some of the things here are correct, some are not (CEO2). CEO3 agreed, this suggests that he sees regions as having a role in staffing. It is not necessary for headquarters to deal with shortages, as schools and regions can deal with this. One head went a step further believing schools should also be involved. The model is not desirable because heads are now receiving training, and they would be able to handle this aspect effectively. Schools and regions should do recruitment and where there are deficiencies they should be left to schools and regions to submit quotas to headquarters, and do the final deployment in the end (HJ1). A parent thought the model was not desirable also because regions and headquarters should jointly address the issue of shortages to improve situations (PJ1).

*Feasible:* All interviewees indicated that this model of manpower is feasible. However, several qualified this support. Staffing constraints should be seen in the overall context of government machinery or the public service, but constraints should not negate the advantages of decentralisation (HqO3). Shortages are not headquarters' responsibility alone (CEO2). The scheme of service should be immediately addressed so as to attract experienced and qualified personnel, as it is not necessary for headquarters to deal with shortages (CEO3). Headquarters should take responsibility for employing officers, as for teachers, schools and regions can make a difference, as regions and schools could do better (CEO4). Heads are now receiving training, the schools and regions should do recruitment, but where there are deficiencies they should be left to schools and regions should submit quotas to headquarters, and do the final deployment (HJ1). Teachers also emphasised a role for schools and regional offices: to address staff supply, as they are better placed, actually that is what is happening (TS1). There is a need for autonomy in staffing, even though it all boils down to inequity when it comes to urban and rural schools. However, the centre is needed for purposes of equity (TS2). Schools should be allowed to employ teachers, this could be practised, but we still need the centre (TJ1). I agree with it if it does not mean looking for manpower from abroad or outside the country. But if schools employ / recruit it will be more difficult especially when it comes to foreigners, as it is not easy to see the other side of the country for quality staff (TJ2). This view was echoed by PJ1: regions and headquarters should jointly address the issue of shortages, while low salaries are a question of policy at higher levels. There should be division of responsibility, such that regions play a role and initiate moves.

Not feasible: None of seventeen interviewees indicated that this model of manpower was unfeasible.

All interviewees indicated that scenario three model of manpower is feasible. None of seventeen interviewees indicated that scenario three model of manpower was not feasible. There are no group differences, so the model is thought to be very feasible overall.

## **6.6 Own Scenario**

Respondents were given the opportunity to come up with their own scenario and one regional officer did:

*Funding* of schools in Botswana seems to encompass the three scenarios, because in secondary schools, while the bulk of the funds are centralised, communities have come in with reasonable amounts to assist the running of schools. As for *provision* (teachers and curriculum), the education system is still delicate and needs curriculum and teacher provision to continue being centralised. Regarding *governance* it is desirable that substantial authority on governance of schools be decentralised to regions. However, some checks and balances should be maintained to ensure commonality countrywide. In *regulation*, Acts and Regulations should continue to be centralised but there must be frequent review. On *discipline*, student discipline should continue to be handled at schools and regional levels, but appeals may be referred to headquarters. As for *human resources*, the present state of affairs is fine, as it will be unwise to decentralise manpower provision. The imbalances that may occur may be too justly to centre plate (CEO2).

### 6.7 Individual comments

One headquarters official decided not to choose any of the three scenario models, or describe his own scenario model. The headquarters official however, gave his individual comments saying:

In my view it should not be a question of adopting one model or the other. The models or scenarios are not necessarily mutually exclusive as to a large extent. They share certain commonalities. In this respect, I would see the acceptable scenario being one that borrows the *strengths* and *advantages* inherent across the descriptions presented in the various scenarios. At the end of the day we would look for a model or a scenario that strikes a judicious balance between the benefits of effective decentralisation and well-thought out policy guidance, standards setting and monitoring at the central level (HqO3).

### 6.8 Unanimity of scenarios and scenario elements

Having analysed the responses to the scenarios the next task is to ask to what extent is there agreement about which scenario is (a) the most desirable and (b) the most feasible.

The table below summarises the views of stakeholders as to their views of the three scenarios.

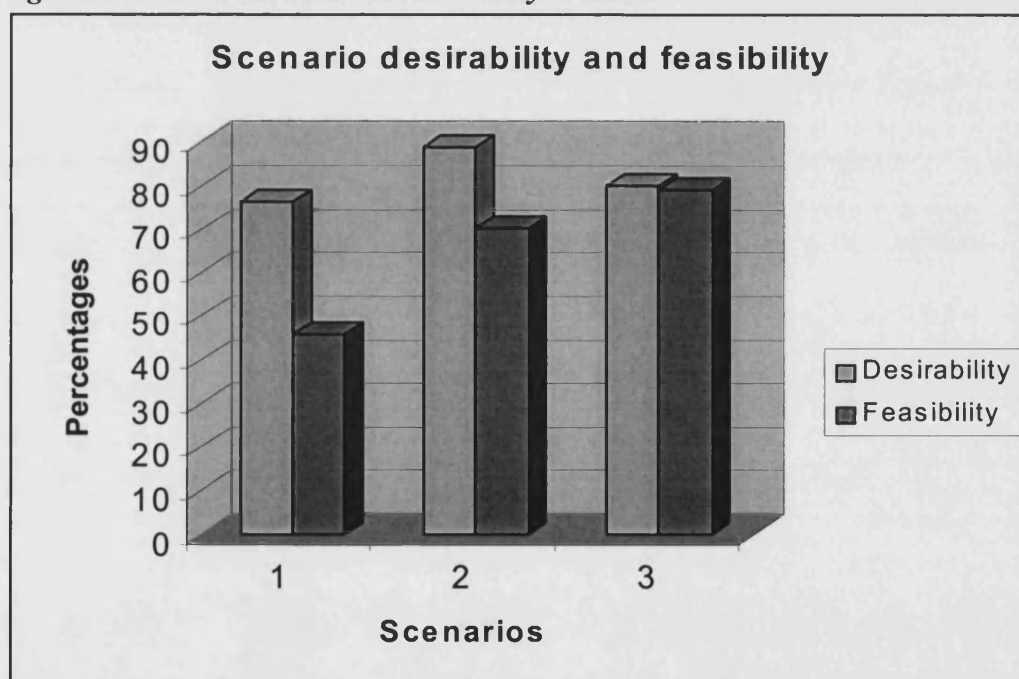
***Table 6.4: Unanimity of scenarios and scenario elements***

<b><i>Elements of scenarios</i></b>	<b><i>Scenario 1</i></b>		<b><i>Scenario 2</i></b>		<b><i>Scenario 3</i></b>	
	<b><i>Desirable</i></b>	<b><i>Feasible</i></b>	<b><i>Desirable</i></b>	<b><i>Feasible</i></b>	<b><i>Desirable</i></b>	<b><i>Feasible</i></b>
Funding	76.5%	47.1%	88.2%	58.8%	87.5%	87.5%
Provision	47.1%	5.9%	88.2%	70.6%	88.2%	70.6%
Governance	100%	70.6%	94.1%	70.6%	100%	58.8%
Regulation	64.7%	23.5%	75%	68.8%	82.4%	100%

Discipline	100%	88.2%	100%	88.2%	52.9%	58.8%
Manpower	70.6%	35.3%	88.2%	64.7%	76.5%	100%
<b>Average %</b>	<b>76.5%</b>	<b>45.1%</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>70.3%</b>	<b>80.3%</b>	<b>79.3%</b>
Av. Unanimity %	76.5 + 46.1/ 2=		89 + 70.3/ 2=		80.3 + 79.3/ 2=	
	<b>60.8%</b>		<b>79.7%</b>		<b>79.8%</b>	

In order to clarify these data the results can be illustrated using a bar graph. By looking at the bar chart, scenario three is identified, as the scenario most likely to attract consensus as regards decentralisation in Botswana.

**Figure 6.1: Consensus and the most likely scenario**



It can be seen that *Scenario two* is the most desirable (89%) followed by scenario three at 80.3% and scenario one at 76.5%. In general, the average percentages of desirability are very high across the scenarios. This suggests that there is a degree of openness as to what stakeholders consider the most desirable. The reason for including the concept of desirability was that it might provide an indication of where stakeholders would like

decentralisation to go in the future. But as we can see, in this respect, the future is undecided.

In terms of feasibility, scenario three was the most feasible (79.3%), followed by scenario two at 70.3%, and scenario one at 46.1%. It was clear that *scenario three* was the most feasible scenario for the Botswana education system, even though scenario two was very close with a difference of just 9%, while scenario one was, by far, behind. These findings have demonstrated that the most desirable scenario does not necessarily mean the one perceived to be most feasible. Hence, although scenario two was the most desirable, scenario three was identified through the general consensus based on both desirability and feasibility, as the most likely scenario model for the Botswana education system. The average percentages of unanimity of scenarios, determined by averaging desirability and feasibility scores, indicate that scenario three is at the top with 79.8%, followed by scenario two at 79.7%, and scenario one at 61.3%. That scenario three should be seen as the most feasible option is perhaps not surprising since this is the scenario that approximates most closely to the trajectory that Botswana is now on. It may be that having laid down this trajectory and despite the problems that have been encountered, stakeholders' thinking has been structured by it, or perhaps they think that having started down this road they should continue on it.

According to these findings, scenario three provides the *funding* model that seems desirable (87.5%) and feasible (87.5%). It seems that respondents believe the model would work in Botswana context, where the *funding* of operational budgets and special needs budgets are decentralised to schools, and all other funding remaining at the centre. However, policy makers ought to recognise the fact that personnel at the regions



and schools are not sufficiently skilled to handle budgets, but training should be in place to support the model. In terms of higher rural payments to attract teachers and personnel, there was a significant measure of agreement that this would not be feasible, because such a policy would create problems of inequity in salaries. One of the major concerns to emerge was that relating to equity and uniformity of standards, which in turn was related to national development. Hence, in the Botswana context, funding of teachers and their work conditions should remain centralised. Nevertheless, this trade off between national development and equity as opposed to greater decentralisation of funds could be qualified at the margins. We have seen that many stakeholders thought that parents should make, at least, some contribution and in fact they often do now, although it isn't mandatory. In this context, an element of cost sharing might be possible, not only to encourage greater participation by parents but to support the state when, as we have seen, a lack of finance is perceived as a problem. After all, in most education systems almost all decisions on finance retain a degree of centralisation and decentralisation (Hanson, 1998:113). What this discussion points up are the trade-offs between competing principles that are involved in any system of education.

The findings indicated that the scenario three model of *provision* is very desirable (88.2%) and reasonably feasible (70.6%). The 70.6% provision feasibility is the same percentage as scenario two provision. It may be that stakeholders thought the distinction between central principles to guide the curriculum and a degree of flexibility at the edges were hard to distinguish. However, again the model also reflects the trajectory that Botswana is on as there are some forms of decentralisation in the *provision*, even though it might be too early to fully decentralise the curriculum. Again, the commitment to a largely centralised curriculum appears to reflect judgements by stakeholders as to

Botswana's level of development which they think requires some form of uniformity and equity in the provision, a point that has been well established in the literature (Green, 1997: 290). Under this model, the curriculum would be diversified only where necessary to allow schools and teachers to respond to specific local needs (Bray, 1999: 210). However, policy makers would need to be aware that, again, it is important to find the 'right mix' or appropriate balance (trade-offs) (Hanson, 1998:113).

According to the results, the scenario three *governance* model is highly desirable (100%) but less feasible (58.8%). There is an element of contradiction here since both of the more decentralised options of scenarios one and two are more highly favoured as feasible, although all stakeholders thought this option desirable. This raises the question of how these scenarios have been 'read' and understood by the stakeholders, an issue that shall be returned to. However, several possibilities occur. Firstly, this outcome may be seen to reflect what has consistently come through the data, which is that there is a genuine desire to empower either regions and/or schools, and this scenario does not do that; in particular it appears to give the regional offices a nominal role with representation on school boards. What is interesting is that the headquarters policymakers saw this option as not feasible, perhaps because they do not think there is sufficient expertise yet on schools boards on current experience. Perhaps more significantly this option was more likely to be endorsed the lower down the hierarchy stakeholders were. For example, it was seen as feasible by teachers and parents. Alternatively, perhaps there was an element of realism on the part of headquarters officials in that knowing that this scenario was closest to the Botswana trajectory for decentralisation. They also know that the state does not go away in this process, as funder and regulator of public education, the state will still have a major role in

governance, even at a distance (Dale, 1997: 274). Again, if this was assumed to be the model closest to that Botswana is following then stakeholders may have taken seriously the fact that the legal position on authority and decision making is also not clear. Hence the legal instrument needs to be fine-tuned to accommodate this model before it becomes feasible.

The results have shown that this model of regulation (accountability and control) is very desirable (82.4%) and perceived to be highly feasible (100%). People seem comfortable when schools and regions feed the headquarters with information for the modification of policies, as the Ministry sets standards of performance and control, and makes schools accountable to the headquarters. Policy makers need to take into account the fact that rural communities lack knowledge about education, and hence prefer schools being accountable to the regions and headquarters, while central and regional inspectors and examination results determine school quality.

Here, there are two major trade-offs involved. Diversity is weighed against fragmentation of national integrity along various divisions in society (Riddell, 1997: 194), while the regulation and accountability, which neo-liberals would argue comes from diversity, is traded-off for national unity and for practical reasons. Closing of under performing schools is not possible in Botswana, because many areas have only one school or none.

According to the findings the scenario three model for *discipline* is the least desired (52.9%) and perceived to be the least feasible (58.8%) across all scenario models of discipline. It is in the area of discipline that decentralisation of decision-making that

seems to be greatest agreement, as the support for scenarios one and two show. There is need to acknowledge that in Botswana, heads and regional officers are still on the learning curve, and some areas have inexperienced personnel and expertise shortages. In the light of this, an incremental decentralisation would be ideal, while in-service training is put in place. The legal implication of handling some cases is beyond the expertise of schools and regions. Hence a review of the legal position and the establishment of regional education legal advisors may help.

Finally, results show that the *human resources* model in scenario three is reasonably desirable (76.5%) and perceived to be highly feasible (100%). Scenario two is highly desirable (88.2%) and scenario one the least desirable (70.6%), suggesting that the intention, amongst many stakeholders is for greater decentralisation but regions and schools are still under staffed, and the scheme of service fails to attract experienced and qualified staff. The manpower shortages differ amongst regions and schools, hence people believe the Ministry is still best placed strategically to allocate scarce human resources (Winker, 1993 and Weiler, 1993). This *status quo* seems realistic if headquarters is to avoid dumping the manpower crisis onto regions and schools: a point all seem to be agreed upon.

In summary, it seems that scenario three has most support but that it requires some changes to be made, especially in relation to discipline. The question of governance is more puzzling and would require further investigation and dialogue.

Given that scenario three attracts, with some modifications, the highest degree of consensus what can Hanson's model tell us about it as regards the conditions for successful devolution?

### **6.9 Conditions necessary for successful devolution (e.g. Hanson)**

According to Hanson (1998:112), decentralisation is the transfer of decision-making authority, responsibility and tasks from higher to lower organisational levels or between organisations. The transfer of decision making could follow three major forms of decentralisation namely: *deconcentration* of tasks and work, but not *authority* to other units of the organisation; *delegation* of decision-making authority from higher to lower hierarchical units, but authority can be withdrawn at the discretion of the delegation unit; and *devolution* of authority to an *autonomous unit* that can act independently, or a unit that can act without first asking permission. According to this view scenario three is largely concerned with *deconcentration*, although in matters of discipline *devolution* of authority is a better description.

For the successful implementation of decentralisation, there are two main conditions to be met. These conditions set the scene for the need for political support for the proposed changes, and those involved in the reform to be capable of carrying it out (McGinn and Welsh, 1999: 76). Teachers may block reform if they are not persuaded of the benefits of decentralisation, or on the other hand reform may fail because those who receive authority for decision making are not able to exercise it properly. If local communities are to be involved either way, they need to have experience and skills in collective decision making and organisational management.

Centres of power can significantly facilitate educational decentralisation reform if they collaborate within the context of the same vision. These centres are most likely to include 'political parties, national and regional government institutions, teachers' unions and local citizens' (Hanson, 1998: 115). Certainly scenario three seems to conform to these conditions. However, it is an open question as to whether this is because all stakeholders understand and for now accept the limitations imposed by restricted funding and the problems associated with manpower shortages. However, Hanson (1998: 126-7) has distilled the experience of decentralisation from around the world into the following propositions and in these terms the situation in Botswana is uneven:

- ❖ 1. The more the decentralisation initiatives involves the centre transferring positive opportunities to the regions (win-win) rather than simply unloading problems and burden (win-lose), the greater the chance for successful change.
- ❖ 2. The greater the accepted vision of decentralisation between the distinct centres of power such as political parties, unions, bureaucrats, religious institutions, the greater the chance for successful change.
- ❖ 3. Devolution rather than delegation of authority and responsibility has a greater chance for long-term success.
- ❖ 4. It is easier to initiate decentralisation initiative during times of political, economic and social stress or turbulence, than it is during times of relative stability.
- ❖ 5. When decentralisation initiatives die, it is usually for political rather than administrative / technical reasons.
- ❖ 6. The stronger the management infrastructure at the regional levels, the greater the opportunity for success.
- ❖ 7. It is better to transfer authority to individual regions only when they meet specific tests of readiness, rather than to all the regions at once regardless of readiness.
- ❖ 8. Decentralising in incremental stages has a greater chance for success than an "out-with-the-old and in-with-the-new" approach. (In Botswana, tlhaku le leshe le

bewa mo go le legologolo = You put the new branch on the old one when building a yard / fencing).

- ❖ 9. Understanding the motivation behind a decentralisation initiative is the key to understanding the specifics of the strategy.
- ❖ 10. The people who have been part of the organisational culture that has managed a centralised system are not very effective in managing a decentralised system (old habits and a taste for power are difficult to cast).
- ❖ 11. A decentralised organisation should function as parts of a whole rather than simply independent parts.
- ❖ 12. Once decentralisation has taken place, the central ministry still must have the tools to safeguard that the regions follow national educational policy.
- ❖ 13. Educational policy on decentralisation should be set through debate rather than disguised manipulation of national budget.

The 'pluses' for Botswana are that points, 2, 4, 8, and 9 all seem to obtain. That is, there appears to be the basis for a shared vision, there is political stability, decentralisation is taking place in incremental stages and there is a broad understanding of the motivations for decentralisation. The 'minuses' are that at the moment the perceived constraints preclude devolution rather than decentralisation (points 1 and 3), that regional infrastructure is not yet sufficiently strong (point 6) and that this has to do both with a shortage of skilled manpower and the preparedness of those in the system to change (point 10). However, the motivation for change is also constrained by a commitment to national development which emphasises equality and uniformity and there are doubts amongst stakeholders as to whether Botswana is at a stage of development where equality cannot be sustained alongside decentralisation. Although, as we have seen from the literature review, the question remains as to whether they can ever go hand in hand.

### **6.10 The role of the experiences of other countries: what can we learn from them?**

One of the original motivations for using the experience of other countries was to test the views of stakeholders in Botswana against the experience of other countries. However, Bray's observations about governance apply to all elements of decentralisation:

The range of models for the governance of education is very wide, and decisions on the choice of models must be made in the context of political ideologies, historical legacies, and such factors as linguistic plurality, geographic size, and ease of communication (Bray, 1999, p.211).

This detailed study has highlighted the importance of specifically contextual factors in thinking through and enacting policy on decentralisation. Where comparative studies may have a role to play is in looking at specific elements of decentralisation. For example funding formulas or the mechanisms by which parents might be involved, rather in broad trajectories as exemplified by the scenarios. At a broader level comparative study might usefully signal what is possible and provide inspiration.

In this respect, the issue of governance that was seen to be problematic in scenario three, is perhaps the most significant area for comparative study. In part the reason for governance being problematic is that it is central to the greater involvement of stakeholders in the process of decentralisation or even ultimately devolution. The comparative literature on this topic is quite optimistic, even though effective involvement in schools' governance including discipline does not come easily, especially at the initial stages of the reform (change) implementation.



New Zealand realised after it had embarked on its reform that intensive training was necessary for the newly elected parent trustees, while Jamaica trained parents to help manage schools (World Bank, 1995: 121). Papua New Guinea also experienced insignificant involvement, despite the enactment in the law that parents should be involved in the management of education (Dove, 1982 cited in Tsayang, 1998: 133). To some extent the United Kingdom had the same experience (Mahoney, 1988; Sallis, 1988 in Tsayang, 1998: 133). But training can be effective both in literate communities such as New Zealand and United Kingdom, and relatively illiterate ones, as in parts of Uganda where Action Aid is providing community training in two districts for parent-teacher associations and school management committees (World Bank, 1995: 121). These experiences suggest that if people were trained, they would not be sceptical about change, and would hence trust changes in education.

To-date, Botswana has found it very difficult to attract sufficiently qualified people to lower-secondary school boards of governors especially in rural areas, and hence to create even a minimal involvement (World Bank, 1995: 121; Tsayang, 1998: 133), yet the experience of the countries cited above suggests it is important to keep trying.

### **6.11 Stakeholders' Viewpoints in Reading the Scenarios**

In analysing the responses to these scenarios it became clear that different stakeholders may have taken different view points in reading them. Moreover, it will also be clear from the responses that the quantitative analyses of this qualitative data can only be taken as indicative; this is because sometimes the basis for agreement or disagreement was conditional. For example, in discussing governance in scenario three, CE02 thought that elements of it were unfeasible because it would take time to clarify the legal

position. This does not mean that he necessarily thought it not feasible in the medium term, just that it was now. This suggests a degree of ambiguity in how the scenarios were understood.

There are varying possibilities on how the scenarios may have guided the respondents or how the respondents may have read the scenarios. Scott (2000) states that:

A policy text may be: prescriptive or non-prescriptive, ideologically explicit or opaque, generic or directed, single-authored or multiple-authored, diagrammatic or written, referenced to other texts or free of such references, coherent or fragmented, and have a wide or narrow focus (p.21).

Hence, for the reader or practitioner to critically read the responses to these scenarios, s/he needs to understand their reading as constructed by various devices, and needs to locate their reading within the policy process itself (Scott 2000: 21). One example was how little the respondents appeared to be guided by self interest as happened in *scenario one*, which effectively removed the regional office tier from the educational system but didn't prevent regional officers from saying it was desirable. It seems regional officers took a standpoint of disinterested experts when reading the scenario texts rather than from the standpoint of their own positions in the structure. In this view, the text/scenarios appear to have positioned some of the stakeholders as technicians concerned with implementation of, and not with deliberation about, educational ends (Scott, 2000: 19). Alternatively, their response could be interpreted as an act of the powerlessness in which they read this form of decentralisation policy as an 'authoritative text document(s) coming from a powerful author somewhere else' (Prunty, 1985: 136; Scott, 2000: 19). If these points are correct then the consensus,

which appears to have been identified above, may only be at the level of the disinterested expert and may not reflect political realities.

Other types of reading may also have been at work. Some stakeholders may have mistaken what was meant in a scenario. For example, in this discussion of scenario three funding, one teacher thought it would involve parents paying fees, when it did not. On other occasions respondents seemed to have invested more in the scenario than was there. In the discussion of manpower in scenario two one parent (PJ1) seemed to have invested far more in what lay behind the scenario, than was warranted. She could see a small determined workforce creating a new model of manpower allocation from which greater things would follow. Her enthusiasm seemed to be excited by a vision that may not be the way things would work at all.

These examples suggest that there is a level of indeterminacy at work because these scenarios will have been read with particular agendas, hopes or aspirations in mind. Because of this, the degree of consensus cannot be taken wholly at face value but would need further investigation and dialogue to clarify 'where people were coming from'. However, pointing out that people may have been taking different standpoints or reading different agendas into the scenarios is a precondition for gaining greater understanding of what stakeholders believe. For these reasons, there is a further dialogue to be undertaken.

## CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

### 7.1 Introduction

The aims of the study were specifically highlighted in chapter 1. The first was to provide *policy guidance* to the Botswana government with respect to decentralisation. The second was to seek an *alternative approach* (methodological approach) to the development of decentralising policies from the top down one size fits all approach that has characterised international monetary agencies in the past. As an attempt to achieve these aims, the study discussed the extent of the nature and the forms of decentralisation undertaken in Botswana and the appropriateness of such reforms for achieving the aims set out in the government's education policy. A review of theories and related literature was used to help establish the key concepts and distinctions, the theoretical advantages and disadvantages, and an examination of broad assumptions underpinning decentralisation.

This chapter discusses the findings of this study by examining six areas: the aims of educational decentralisation in Botswana; Botswana's progress in the decentralisation process; problems / constraints encountered; vision / way forward; and three reflections on the study now that it has been undertaken concerning the role of comparative evidence in informing policy, and the constraints on the methodology employed including limitations involved in the different 'readings' of a text or in this case scenarios. In conclusion, some recommendations are made and further issues for research are highlighted.

## **7.2 The aims of the educational decentralisation process in Botswana**

In chapter 1, the aims of educational decentralisation were sought when an attempt was made to answer the question: 'why has Botswana started down the road to decentralisation when centralisation seems to have served the country so well'? It was found that the aims were linked to the size and population of the country, massive expansion and development of the education system, problems of communication, and improving equity and performance/outcomes. That is, decentralisation policies were meant to facilitate effective administration and management, as discussed below.

Demographically, Botswana is described as large and sparsely populated (Dixey, 1997: 33). Hence, the decentralisation process aimed to solve problems of distance, time and a geographically dispersed system, by bringing more professional and administrative support services into closer touch with regions and localities. In chapter 5, the majority of interviewees forwarded advantages of cost effectiveness in terms of travel and a reduction in time in professional and administrative decision-making. However, the views of stakeholders suggest that this aim has not been fully achieved because of limited decentralisation with power still held at the centre. In part this was because as a matter of principle many saw national development as threatened by greater decentralisation and by a shortage of the right kind of manpower.

The decentralisation process also aimed at solving problems of communication particularly with the teachers in the field (Republic of Botswana, 1994: 4) and other stakeholders. The findings show that very little has been achieved because people do not trust the decentralisation network, as they still believe headquarters performs better. Most teacher welfare issues are still handled by headquarters while schools and regions

supply data to headquarters. What is missing is that policy makers have been unable to recognise the dynamics of different modes of decentralisation that would enhance trust and interest in the process, thereby making communication easy. The *status quo* may perpetuate, because of the lack of knowledgeable expertise in schools and regions that people can trust.

Decentralisation policies in Botswana were targeted to facilitate cross-stakeholders involvement as embedded in the national principle of self-reliance that relates to concepts of interdependence and mutual assistance (Republic of Botswana, 1977: 24). It has been highlighted in chapter 2 that the principle of Self-reliance has a long history in the Botswana education system where cross-stakeholders' voluntary involvement and participation has been the norm. At the moment many stakeholders believe that people have developed a dependency syndrome where government is expected to provide all and make things happen. 'Self-reliance' has an element of individual and local community initiative that rejects the idea of an all powerful and providing state. Policy makers have not been able to identify the right decentralisation model that would recognise the democratic values of this historic national principle. An appropriate model might have accommodated the concept of interdependence and mutual assistance, and found its niche in the Setswana proverb: 'Tlhaku le leshe le bewa mo go le legologolo' (you put the new branch on the old one when fencing). If all stakeholders were valued by the system, they would value the system and develop an interest in democratic involvement and participation. The problem is that in this respect the lack of skilled manpower has led to mistrust and insecurity.

In terms of equity, decentralisation aims were rooted in the national philosophy of KAGISANO (social harmony) which embraced the concept of social justice (Republic of Botswana, 1977: 24), where equal distribution of resources and access amongst districts and communities was to be achieved. The concept of social justice has influenced the educational development and policy formulation in Botswana, as it is central to fairness and equal distribution of social goods. The literature in chapter 3 suggests that these would imply policies that facilitate equity, access and full participation of all stakeholders. Yet, as the evidence of the stakeholders makes clear, at this moment in Botswana's development, there is a tension between equity, uniformity and decentralisation in any sense which suggests devolution of power and hence decision-making.

As for performance and outcomes, decentralisation aimed to improve the quality of education by raising standards at all levels. In this aim, it seems valid to suggest that Botswana had in mind the general ideology of the multilateral agencies (IMF and World Bank), where decentralisation suggests the introduction of 'market elements' into the education system (Whitty et al.1998: 3). However, most respondents believe market forces and competition cannot work in the Botswana situation and are not acceptable at the moment due to insufficient schools, manpower and resources. If decentralisation has had a major impact then it should have made it easy for local citizens to hold local officials accountable for their performance and outcomes (World Bank, 2000: 108), but rather it is still headquarters that is held accountable. In summary, a range of factors have had the effect of limiting the nature and pace of decentralisation.

### 7.3 Botswana's progress in the educational decentralisation process

In the background (chapter 2), it was argued that since independence, Botswana has made great strides in her efforts to reform the education system. The appeal for decentralisation to be networked into the educational system is highlighted in the first education policy (Government Paper No. 1 of 1977) and the national policy on education adopted in Government Paper No. 2 of 1994. What remains to be known is whether Botswana has made any progress in decentralising the education system? The results in chapter 5 and chapter 6 show that some progress has been made in terms of regions, schools, teacher welfare, student welfare and discipline, and finance. However some results show that no progress has been made.

In chapters 5 and chapter 6, the findings show that progress has been made through the establishment of the *regional offices* and some decentralisation in *schools*. Schools and regions now have some limited power over nominations for further professional studies for teachers, form one selection (admission), some deployment of teachers at the regional level, and the processing of teachers' payment. Operational functions at primary level (e.g. school Inspectors), teacher in-service, non-formal education, and teacher personnel functions have moved to regional offices. Regional offices now have some senior staff and nominally some decision-making power. The headquarters has continued to struggle to support regions with administrative and professional staff. Regions can grant leave, employ temporary teachers, undertake promotions up to senior teacher grade 2, acting appointments up to school head, and handle disciplinary cases up to referral cases. Management officers, education officers (subjects), regional inspectors and school management advisors are now in the regions. Schools heads handle finance functions for school projects up to P10 000 (£1,000). There has been



more professional training and dialogue within regions. Regional Heads Conferences, teachers' cluster meetings for fertilisation of ideas, sporting activities, the appointment of heads of department, school management teams and internal regional transfers now take place at the regions and schools. These results reflect an acknowledgement that at least some activities are taking place at the schools and regions, which is encouraging the formation of professional teams (Osborne and Gaebler, 1993: 267). These results constitute progress of a kind but they are limited and constitute minimal decision making power and authority to perform since most of decision making power is retained at the Ministry of Education. This shows that schools and regions are expected to do most of the work, with the Ministry making all the key decisions (McGinn and Welsh, 1999: 19).

This view is reflected amongst the respondents. One regional officer said:

Not much has happened. All decisions are still taken centrally. Regional offices are only meant to collect data for headquarters (CEO1).

In summary, there is evidence that some progress has been made in decentralising the Botswana education system through the establishment of regional offices, and in aspects of school administration or management. Furthermore, a little decentralisation progress has been achieved in terms of teacher welfare, student welfare, discipline, and some finance but these are limited forms of decentralisation.

#### **7.4 The problems / constraints encountered in the decentralisation process**

The problems and/or constraints can be seen at various levels of the education system. However, it could be argued that it is the same set of problems and constraints that have implications at every level. The major problems are those of lack of suitably qualified manpower and lack of finance. In the light of these problems there is the added constraint that most stakeholders adhere to a commitment to the idea of national development which involves uniformity and equality. These problems and constraints are then reproduced at every level of the education system starting with headquarters, the Ministry of Education.

##### **7.4.1 Ministry of Education**

The results have highlighted *manpower* problems at headquarters and in general. The Ministry finds it difficult to decentralise due to lack of trained staff. It could be concluded that this result implies that the country's decentralisation policy was never based on any specific model of what is both desirable and feasible, or affordable and achievable, but rather based on aspirations and conceptual assumptions taken from overseas literatures.

The views of stakeholders also suggest that *power* is a problem at the Ministry of Education. Here, the data suggest either that some officers are hesitant to share power because they don't want to lose it or that they are sceptical about devolving it because of lack of finance and manpower. The consequence is that decentralisation has not been able to capitalise on its assumed benefits. Understanding the motivation for the decentralisation initiative is the key to understanding the specifics of the strategy (Hanson, 1998:126). But the Ministry has been unable to create the conditions for a

motivated work force and the appropriate organisational methods (guide / strategies) which would create the chance for successful implementation, enabling creative freedom within defined structures (Schumacher, 1973: 243) and the opportunity for people to have more knowledge about schools and their local context (Contino, 1988: 34).

The results show a lack of *co-ordination and monitoring* between and within the structures at the Ministry. The Ministry lacks supervision, monitoring and co-ordination mechanisms; hence there is a suggestion in the views of stakeholders that there is a lack of feedback and planning to and for regions. The Ministry needed to have established co-ordinating teams to co-ordinate the decentralisation process. Part of the problem here is that the lines of *communication* are unclear.

However one positive aspect to this process is that by keeping finance largely centralised the Ministry has not sought to export the 'crisis' of funding to regions and schools (Whitty et al., 1998:43.).

#### ***7.4.2 Regional Education Offices***

These results also reflect *manpower* problems at regional offices due to lack of skills and the willingness of personnel to take initiatives and risks. Even when facilities like computers are available, personnel are not skilled to utilise them. These results also show lack of proper planning by the policy makers.

There is also a problem of infrastructure as regards *region size and lack of transport*. The expectations reflected in chapter 6 that decentralisation would take services to the

people and issues would be handled within localities have not materialised. It is a problem known to all policy makers but it has escaped their attention when drafting policy.

Perhaps the biggest tension created by the problems and constraints identified relate to *change* as it impacts on the regions. It was the view of some stakeholders that personnel find it difficult to accept the demands of decentralisation because they still hold on to the old system believing headquarters knows the best. Policy makers should have been fully aware of the demands for flexibility as necessary organisational assumptions required to create the capacity for change (Webster, 1968 in Brown 1990: 40). However, if headquarters maintains rigid structures people will believe in them and this will act against the ambition to decentralise.

At the moment regions have a problem in effectively integrating local authorities, chiefs and tribal authorities to work together for the sake of the process, and this also creates conflict at times. Change creates new institutions in terms of regional operations; hence there should have been a comprehensive plan that would inform, train and sensitise all stakeholders about the proposed change process. To date this has been limited to in-service training for head teachers, although this is more skewed to knowledge about running efficient bureaucratic schools and schools not as semi autonomous learning organisations.

As at headquarters, *communication* is also a problem for regions largely because people prefer to communicate with headquarters.

The lack of *power* is also cited by stakeholders as a problem in the regions. The regional office is there, but added on to a centralised system, because power has not yet been devolved to the regions.

The *Education Act, and inspection* create problems for regions. The Education Act is a problem, because the legal status of the delegated functions is clear to most stakeholders, hence they face the prospects of challenges. *Inspection* is a problem, because there is very little inspection, as ‘you hardly see an Inspector in class’ (TS1). Policy makers should have realised the importance of the legal framework in a decentralised system.

#### **7.4.3 Schools**

The findings show *problems of staffing* because of expansion. Posts at schools take too long to be filled, as there are difficulties in getting qualified and experienced teachers. Schools do not have specialist teachers in some subjects, but too many new subjects are introduced leading to high student-teacher ratios. The HIV problem has made matters worse hence there are too many early appointments to senior management posts. Consequently, staff are not adequately prepared for change. The emphasis on recruiting expatriate teachers while promoting indigenous teachers (localisation) is posing problems, as there is resentment from experienced expatriates towards inexperienced heads, heads of departments and senior teachers. Overall, these findings mean that there is serious resistance and anxiety in schools where heads and teachers believe they are being required to perform impossible tasks (Monkge, 2001: 307).

*Change* is also reported as a problem in schools. Schools have problems in changing the attitudes of teachers and communities. There are problems of resentment, lack of professional commitment, lack of motivation while heads and teachers are on a learning curve. People do not trust the changed structures, they still believe the headquarters can solve problems better:

Heads were not well orientated to the process and that is why people are still sceptical about change, as they believe headquarters are the best. This develops the attitude to believe that regions are not capable, while decentralisation has many things involved and difficult to handle, such as curriculum change and localisation of examinations (HS2).

The fact that staff were not adequately prepared for change was emphasised by one of the parents:

School heads have a problem of 'I am the head'. Heads are too protective..., having a fear of being exposed and losing jobs, they cannot share power and decentralise and they lack confidence in others. That is why they get a lot of pressure from the juniors. People are not allowed to participate in things like timetable preparation. The locals are still not taken as the able people. For example in computer, it is always assigned to foreigners (PJ1).

These quotations portray the magnitude of the problem right down to the school.

In summary, the problems and ideological constraints identified at the start of this section have worked their way through the system making further decentralisation difficult, whatever the scenario followed, unless these problems and constraints are addressed. Nevertheless, solving these problems would not be enough because a clear view of the way forward is also required.

## **7.5 Vision / way forward to overcome problems and constraints**

There are a number of outcomes from the study that can be seen as a way forward. In this section the extent of agreements and fundamental issues of disagreement will be discussed.

### ***7.5.1 The extent of agreements to the way forward***

In chapters 5 and 6 the findings show strong agreement that regions and schools should be *empowered* more on staff and students welfare issues including discipline, and finance, to enable them to effectively and efficiently manage and administer education through the decentralisation process. These findings agree with the adopted definition of decentralisation in the education context as delegation or rather devolution / transfer of power (authority) to make decisions related to human and physical resources; curriculum and assessment; access and finance to regions, schools and communities (Chapter 3). Policy makers need to be aware of the sequence that if more power is delegated to the regions, regions could delegate more power to schools, and heads could devolve more power to heads of department and to the teachers to create collective responsibilities.

Several respondents wanted *distance and faster service* problems to be addressed by taking services nearer to the people and to provide effective co-ordination and service delivery, hence removing hardship and inconvenience caused by distance and delays. The findings here are consistent with the administrative rationale for decentralisation, which targets the most efficient ways of achieving particular educational goals, as it

focuses on the means rather than the ends (McLean and Lauglo, 1985: 9; Bray, 1999: 209).

In some respects the findings indicate that the *local community* should be informed about the education system, and all stakeholders taken on board such that the reforms are an opportunity to educate local stakeholders. Local communities may well be enthusiastic to participate in public decision-making (McGinn and Welsh, 1999: 29). In this way, all stakeholders would be enrolled in the decentralisation process thereby accepting responsibility for education. It would also reduce resistance to change.

A few responses were in favour of competition *for students by schools*, as it is thought that admission based on competition would raise productivity, performance and standards. However, the majority were not in favour of such a view on the grounds that it was impractical, if for no other reason. Similar points can be made about *competition between public and private schools*.

#### ***7.5.2 The fundamental disagreements as to the way forward***

Although people may have a desire to decentralise, they are sceptical about the feasibility of doing so. These concerns relate to equity and standardisation, corruption and nepotism, resistance to change the retention of power by the powerful, problems of communication, inadequate preparation and training, multiple stake holders and competing interests, lack of staff and funding, payments by parents, and completion. Many of these concerns have been dealt with above. However, it is worth noting that there was some scepticism or fear about *corruption and nepotism* in the process, which has to do with the cultural preconditions for decentralisation that enables a continued



general commitment to meritocracy. Centralised bureaucracies historically were specifically designed to reduce nepotism and corruption, and introduce meritocracy. In this view, there are fears that the reforms could lead to the abuse of power. Hence, policy makers need to be extra cautious when decentralising policy, as power corrupts. Corruption and nepotism may escalate when dealing with staff and personnel welfare issues according to some stakeholders (Chapter 5).

It is also worth noting that there were disagreements in terms of *parental payments*, although a majority thought they were appropriate, partly because the system needs extra funds and partly to motivate parents. This suggests that the question of *cost sharing* in education should be revisited.

### ***7.5.3 One clear way forward for education in Botswana?***

At this stage, it was hoped to be able to say that the results of this research suggested a way forward, a blueprint for further decentralisation. The responses of stakeholders suggest a possible scenario that they could nearly all agree to, scenario three. However, as previously indicated the way these scenarios were read and understood makes certainty on this issue difficult to achieve and more dialogue would be needed. Chapter 5 included interview data analysis that helped in the identification of the main issues and themes that were used to help formulate the three scenarios. The development of the scenarios represented three views of devolution / decentralisation. In general, each scenario provided a different perspective on a series of key issues, such as funding, provision, governance, regulation, discipline and manpower. The scenario one model was essentially a neo-liberal theory, which provided a simple and stark contrast to the others and in terms of the interview process provided a basis for thinking about the

issues raised in the other two scenarios. The scenario two model was the community / market model of *devolution*, which could be seen as a half-way house to a more fully *devolved* system, while the scenario three model reflected a *state-guided* decentralised system. In analysing the scenario data, evidence emerged through the identification of a possible consensus as to which scenario could form a guide or way forward for education in Botswana. Here scenario three emerged as the one considered most feasible.

## **7.6 Reflections on the Study**

There are three reflections to be included here. The first concerns the aim of replacing a one-size fits-all methodology. Such a methodology in the case of Botswana would have been and would be, if now implemented, a disaster, especially if the type once favoured by the World Bank, that is a neo-liberal model. Although the number of stakeholders interviewed was limited in its representativeness, especially in terms of regions and localities, nevertheless, key problems confronting Botswana's attempt to decentralise have been identified and a possible way forward. The methodology took into account the knowledge various stakeholders have of the way things are on the ground and a vision of the way forward was developed on that basis.

However, the difficulties encountered in how the scenarios (texts) were read make this an uncertain process. When the researcher started out he hoped that a blueprint could be devised but as a result of the different readings of the scenarios the best that can be achieved is that problems encountered and a possible scenario identified should be seen as the basis for further dialogue and investigation. It is hoped that in these terms the study will illuminate stakeholders' and especially policy makers' thinking in Botswana.

Finally, it was also expected that comparing stakeholders' views as to the best way forward with the international literature on decentralisation would help to come to sounder conclusions. The literature helped in making clear the key assumptions behind decentralisation, many of which were also assumed by respondents in this study, but given the unique historical, cultural and geographical context of Botswana, the evidence from comparative studies was more limited in its usefulness than originally anticipated. Its usefulness may be more at the level of detail since many of the respondents were already aware of the disadvantages of say, the neo-liberal model in the Botswana context, even though in principle some might have thought it desirable, if they had also thought it feasible, then the international evidence may have had a greater role to play.

Although triangulation is defined as the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour (Cohen et al, 2000; 112), it seemed impossible or rather difficult to triangulate because the methods (interviews and scenarios) used had limited justification for consistency. Furthermore, scenarios were developed as a result of the interview data, and responses depended on the questioning and the reading of the texts by stakeholders had limitations, hence they could not form helpful patterns to assist the triangulation exercise. The theory and experiences of other countries could not form obvious relationship to benchmark the triangulation process, as countries operated differently.

Despite these limitations of the study it is felt/hoped that the outcomes study will make a positive contribution to the developing understanding of decentralisation process in education systems. It is perceived that the results would form a good platform for

deliberations on policy reforms or debates and illuminate on the pathways for decentralisation policy. Furthermore, the results would generate ideas for further research.

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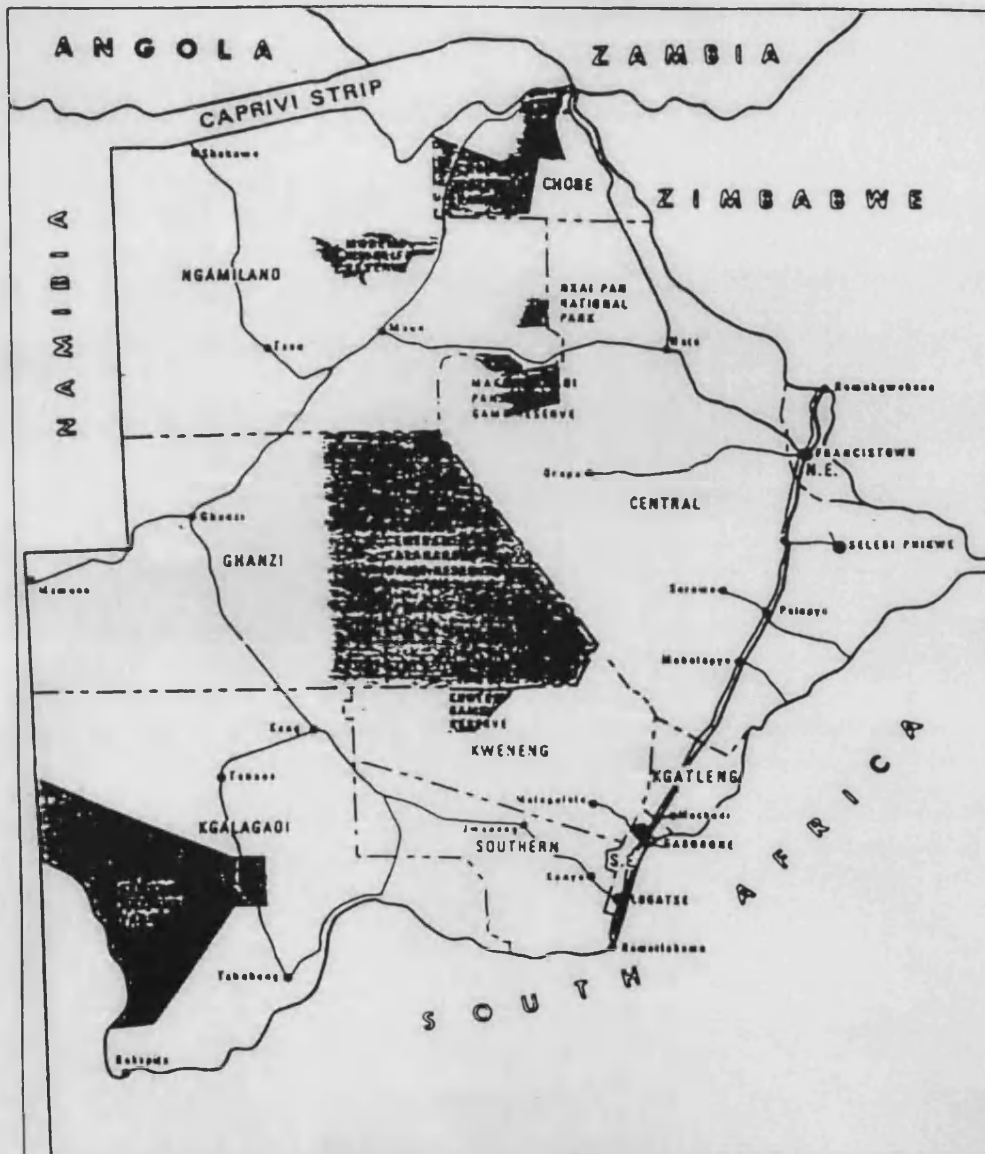
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# APPENDIX 1

## Map of Botswana

### REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA



Source: Botswana, Republic of (1993b) Planning for People: A Strategy for Accelerated Human Development in Botswana. Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, Gaborone.

## APPENDIX 2

University of Bath  
Department of Education  
PhD-Research Office  
Claverton Down  
Bath. BA2 7AY  
United Kingdom  
11. 07. 2000.

To:

The Permanent Secretary to the President  
Office of the President  
Private Bag 001

GABORONE.

Dear Sir / Madam,

### RE: CLEARANCE TO CONDUCT INTERVIEWS: MYSELF.

I would like to introduce myself to you as Mr Justice Gaeonale, a Botswana citizen by birth and nationality. At present I am a Doctoral candidate within the Department of Education, at the University of Bath. Prior to my start at the University of Bath, I served as a qualified mathematics and physics teacher, Deputy Head, acting Headmaster and in other related duties and projects in the Ministry of Education (Botswana). My research focus is the nature and future of decentralisation in the education system in Botswana. As of now, decentralisation may involve deconcentration, delegation, and devolution, and aspects such as marketisation, globalisation, privatisation, competition, choice, and many more seem to creep in. Possibly Botswana may be featuring in the decentralisation spectrum. I do hope that the outcomes of the research would be of paramount force in the development of the education system and the country at large.

I would be most grateful if you could provide me with the clearance permit to conduct interviews which will involve key stakeholders at the Ministry of Education, Regional Officers, Heads, Teachers, and Parent representatives (Governor / PTA-member). I hope to leave for Botswana on 14<sup>th</sup> July 2000, and would like to get the response when I get there, and immediately start the exercise, as time is not on my side. I attach a letter of testimony from my supervisor (Professor Hugh Launder).

Thank you for your time and patience.

Yours Sincerely,

Justice K.K. Gaeonale.  
PhD Candidate-University of Bath.

### APPENDIX 3

University of Bath  
Department of Education  
PhD-Research Office  
Claverton Down  
Bath. BA2 7AY  
United Kingdom  
11. 07. 2000.

To:  
The School Head

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Dear Sir / Madam,

**RE: INTERVIEW APPOINTMENT : MYSELF.**

I would like to introduce myself to you as Mr Justice Gaeonale, a Botswana citizen by birth and nationality. At present I am a Doctoral candidate within the Department of Education, at the University of Bath. Prior to my start at the University of Bath, I served as a qualified mathematics and physics teacher, Deputy Head, acting Headmaster and in other related duties and projects in the Ministry of Education (Botswana). My research focus is the nature and future of decentralisation in the education system in Botswana. As at now, decentralisation may involve deconcentration, delegation, and devolution, and aspects such as marketisation, globalisation, privatisation, competition, choice, and many more seem to creep in. Possibly Botswana may be featuring in the decentralisation spectrum. I do hope that the outcomes of the research would be of paramount force in the development of the education system and the country at large.

I would be most grateful if you could spare some time to talk to me during the interview exercise about decentralisation in the education system in Botswana. I propose to interview you, a Teacher, and one parent representative (Bog-Chair person / PTA-Chair person / Bog member /PTA member) on... /... / 2000. Please arrange for a convenient place for every one. Time schedule: Head (08:30am), Teacher (10:30am), and Parent representative (2:30pm). Please inform the teacher and the parent representative in time. I promise to abide by the research ethics and confidentiality. Backup copies are attached.

Thank you for your time and patience. I look forward to meeting you.

Yours Sincerely

Justice K.K. Gaeonale (PhD Candidate-University of Bath)

# DECENTRALISATION AND EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT IN BOTSWANA

## INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (*STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL*)

### **The process of decentralisation / devolution in Botswana**

1. How would you best define the decentralisation / devolution process in Botswana?

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2. Are there any advantages to the decentralisation process? What are they?

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3. Are there any disadvantages to the decentralisation process? What are they?

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## **The rationale for the desired decentralisation / devolution in Botswana**

There have been recommendations for greater decentralisation / devolution in Botswana.

4. What do you think is the rationale for devolution in Botswana? Can you explain?

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5. What forms of decentralisation / devolution do you think are desirable? Why?

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## **Decentralisation process in Botswana education system**

6. In what ways has there been decentralisation in the Botswana education system?

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7. Do you know of any plans for further decentralisation in Botswana education system? What are they? Is there any more you can tell me?

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**The current problems / constraints faced by Botswana education system**

8. What do you think are the current problems faced by the Botswana education system? Can you give examples?

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9. Why do you think Botswana education is faced with such current problems? Is there anymore you can tell me?

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10. Do you think some of the current problems are related to:

- (a) the regulation of the education? Can you give me any examples?

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**(b) the funding of education? Can you give some examples?**

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**(c) The provision of education? How?**

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**11.If you look at decentralisation and Botswana education system now, can you think of any current problems / constraints at:**

**(a) Ministry of Education?**

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**(b) Regional Education Offices?**

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(c) Schools? Can you give examples?

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**The current problems faced by the Interviewees / Key stakeholders**

12. As a key stakeholder in Botswana education system, what current problems are you faced with? Is there anymore you can tell me?

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13. Do you see any difference between the problems faced by other stakeholders and those you face? Can you explain?

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14. Do you think that it is the urban or rural areas, which are faced more by the current problems? How?

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### **Vision and Way forward for improvement**

15. What problems do you think would be solved by the forms of decentralisation?  
How?

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16. Do you think competition for students by schools would solve some of the key  
problems? Can this apply in both urban and rural areas?

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17. Do you see a way forward for improvement in decentralising Botswana education  
system? What do you think should happen?

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18. Do you think that competition between public and private schools can provide  
solutions to key problems? How?

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**Limitations / ‘Downside’ of such reforms**

19. Do you think that there are any limitations / ‘downside’ of decentralisation reforms?

Can you explain?

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20. Do you think there can be absolute decentralisation in Botswana education system?

Why?

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### Interviewee information

Interviewee no: ☐ Years at the Post: ☐ Department: MoE ☐

Sec: ☐ REO: ☐ School: .....

Rural: ☐ Urban: ☐

POST: Minister / Politician ☐ D / Perm Sec ☐ D /Director ☐

CEO ☐ D /Hm ☐ Teacher ☐ Parent Rep (BoG / PTA) ☐

Estimated Time: 50 -60 minutes. Time

Taken: .....

**Thank you very much for your contribution to this Education Policy Research Project. Your help is greatly appreciated. LE KA MOSO MOTHO WETSHO.**

## APPENDIX 4

University of Bath  
Department of Education  
PhD-Research Office  
Claverton Down  
Bath. BA2 7AY  
United Kingdom  
10. 07. 2001.

To:

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Dear Sir / Madam,

**RE: INTERVIEW APPOINTMENT: MYSELF.**

I would like to introduce myself to you once again as Mr Justice Gaeonale, a Botswana citizen. At present I am a Doctoral candidate within the Department of Education, at the University of Bath. Last July / August I undertook a round of interviews on decentralisation process in Botswana education system. From the analysis of the interview data several issues surfaced as prominent in the concerns of those interviewed. These issues gave rise to three possible ways (scenarios) as to how decentralisation could further develop. These scenarios are to be developed further by taking into account your comments, and interviewing you from your comments account.

I would be most grateful if you could spare some time to talk to me during the interview exercise about your comments on scenarios. I propose to interview you on .....  
/..... / 2001 at .....am / pm.

I promise to abide by the research ethics and confidentiality. Backup copies are attached.

Thank you for your time and patience. I look forward to meeting you.

Yours Sincerely,

Justice K.K. Gaeonale.  
PhD Candidate-University of Bath.



## **FINAL SCENARIOS**

*Respondent Code or Number:.....*

Education in Botswana is going through a decentralisation process. Last July/August I undertook a round of interviews on this process. From the analysis of this data several issues surfaced as prominent in the concerns of those interviewed: funding, provision, governance, regulation, discipline, and human resources. These issues gave rise to three possible ways (scenarios) as to how decentralisation could further develop. It is hoped that you will be able to comment on which of the three scenarios below you consider the most desirable (your ideal) and which you think is the most practical. You may have other ideas as to the scenario you think may be the most desirable (ideal) and /or most practical. It would be most helpful if you could comment on these three scenarios and the various elements such as funding, provision etc within them. And, to briefly describe your own scenario if it differs from one of these. Finally if you could comment on any key element you think has been left out of these three scenarios that would be appreciated. I would like to come to interview you about your views about these scenarios for about 20-30 minutes.

### **Scenario: One**

#### *1. Funding*

The current education funding or free education in Botswana has developed a dependency syndrome or attitude and made the Self-reliance National principle disappears. Therefore there is a need for the devolution of funding to schools and regions, as they have local knowledge. This arrangement will create consumer knowledge, motivate parents, and they will be effectively involved in the learning process. It will also make students more responsible. Schools and regions will know their teachers, and will best be able to handle issues of teachers' salaries. That is, all funding will be by parental payment of fees, with the exception of scholarships for poor able students. Parents can choose where they send their children to school.

*Please comment:*

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*To be filled during interviews:*

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#### *2. Provision (Teachers and Curriculum)*

The Botswana education system has centralised provision of a National Curriculum. Schools follow the centrally prescribed syllabi on what is to be taught to cater for all.

But, there is need for diversity through decentralisation to allow schools to determine what is taught, and how the teaching can best be applied. School heads and teachers must be empowered to create their own curriculum according to local needs and knowledge. Subjects such as agriculture could be approached differently because different regions have different needs and limitations. Schools and regions should handle teacher- student ratios (class sizes) not headquarters.

Please comment:

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*To be filled during interviews:*

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### 3. Governance (Authority and Decision-making)

Decentralisation removes certain duties from headquarters to the schools, and empowers all stakeholders to make decisions at grass root level. It is assumed that these stakeholders (headteachers, community of teachers, and other stakeholders) will have sufficient expertise to offer services, and have enough autonomy to operate within the confines of the market.

Please comment:

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*To be filled during interviews:*

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### 4. Regulation (Accountability and Control)

Education control in Botswana is more centralised as the control is bench-marked by the Education Act and Code of Regulations, and this makes headquarters more accountable than schools. But conditions in Botswana need a devolved system that will make schools more accountable by infusing the market mechanism whereby good schools attract students, and if not, they close down. Schools will aim for quality results, and

teachers will be motivated to perform and get profit for doing a good job. They will fear losing their jobs if they do not perform. Parents and students will choose schools that offer quality education. School quality will be determined by their examination results.

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*To be filled during interviews:*

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## 5. Discipline

Schools not headquarters must handle teacher and student discipline. Governors need more power on teacher discipline. Discipline cases are still referred to headquarters in Botswana and this causes delays. Some students graduate before hearing the final verdict on their cases. Teachers' movement also makes it difficult to handle discipline case. Schools and regions have full knowledge of students and staff and could handle cases on the spot faster.

Please comment:

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*To be filled during interviews:*

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## 6. Human Resources (Manpower)

The Ministry of Education does not have enough manpower at headquarters, regions and schools to cope with expansion in the system as well as the decentralisation process. This has contributed to a lack of monitoring mechanisms and co-ordinators structures. Posts remain unfilled for a long time and there is always a danger of early appointment of unqualified, inexperienced, and less knowledgeable staff, especially at the posts of heads and heads of departments. Schools should determine teachers' conditions of work and offer higher salaries as incentives where there is a shortage of teachers.

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*To be filled during interviews:*

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## **Scenario: Two**

### *1. Funding*

Current government funding is not sustainable, money per child is not enough, and special needs cases are not catered for. The funding is highly centralised and this has greater limitations on student expenditure and teachers' salaries. If educators' funding is fully decentralised to schools and regions, and skilled finance personnel made available to make decentralisation work, then the budget will be prepared according local and individual needs, and staff recruitment and payment will be determined by the budget status. Regions and schools will learn to raise additional funds according to the local needs by asking the parents to pay for their children education. If parents pay a part of the costs they will have a stake in their children's education and will therefore help to embed decentralisation in the system because will take an active interest in their children's education.

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*To be filled during interviews:*

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### *2. Provision (Teachers and Curriculum)*

The curriculum is centrally provided, including raw material (people). Teachers follow prescriptions, and only are allowed to bring in a little creativity. But a partially decentralised curriculum in which there is a centralised framework or set of principles that teachers have to follow but which they can address as they think appropriate for local conditions enable teacher creativity and meet both central and local demands.

*Please comment:*

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*To be filled during interviews:*

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*3. Governance (Authority and Decision-making)*

Schools and regions can be empowered through decentralisation mechanisms to deal with school finance, inspections and handle all matters of teacher welfare. So regions would allocate finance to schools and determine teachers work conditions including pay. There will be parents' advisory councils in each region, where parents will be elected on a regional basis, to advise on the allocation of finance and teachers' work conditions so that there is equity within regions. In this way the community will have a direct input into educational policy in the region. In the Botswana situation, empowerment of regions, schools and governors would bring services near to the people, provide effective co-ordination, and faster service delivery. It would remove hardships and inconveniences caused by lack of empowerment at regions and schools, referrals, communications, distance, delays, and create room for speedy implementations of government policy.

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*To be filled during interviews:*

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*4. Regulation (Accountability and Control)*

Education in Botswana could be devolved to allow limited competition for student admission where possible. But all students will have the right to go to their local school. School and student performance will rise partly due to competition, where it is possible. School performance will differ, and parents will know the good performing schools. Schools will be more accountable to parents and the community. If schools fail they will have to provide answers to the community and this will community control of education. Regional inspectors and examination results, which will be published will determine schools' quality. Both the reports of the regional inspectors and the examination results will be monitored by the parents' advisory council.

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*To be filled during interviews:*

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## 5. Discipline

Decentralisation of the Botswana education system, ideally, could bring discipline strategies closer to places where offences occur. If schools and regions are given authority to handle all students and teachers discipline, then the offenders will know that action could be taken on the spot.

Please comment:

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*To be filled during interviews:*

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## 6. Human Resources (Manpower)

A decentralised education system creates effective service delivery, when there is enough availability of qualified, skilled and experienced human resources (manpower). Headquarters, regions and schools have acute manpower shortages. More people are needed to carry out duties, and to facilitate a fully decentralised system. Regions will determine manpower planning because they have a clearer view of the needs of their region than headquarters.

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*To be filled during interviews:*

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### Scenario: Three

#### 1. Funding

The funding of operational budgets and special needs budgets in Botswana should be decentralised to schools. All other funding should remain at the Centre. At the moment, personnel at the regional and school level are not sufficiently skilled to handle budgets. Teacher and personnel transfer resistance from urban areas to rural areas would be a big problem in the system, if it were fully decentralised, unless some means of attraction through higher rural payments is implemented. But such a policy would create problems of funding and inequity in salaries. To avoid this, funding of staff, teachers and their work conditions to remain centralised. Therefore, the rationale for parents paying fees loses its strength, as the headquarters (centre) will retain considerable financial power. What is devolved to schools via the regions is day to day operation budgets and special needs funding.

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*To be filled during interviews:*

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#### 2. Provision (Teachers and Curriculum)

There is need for some forms of decentralisation, but it is too early to decentralise fully the curriculum. The curriculum can be diversified only where necessary to allow schools and teachers to respond to specific local needs. But such initiatives would be limited. Botswana is still developing and need some form of uniformity and equity in the provision. It is possible to decentralise education provision, if infrastructure and qualified personnel are made available. However, the quality of production of teachers has gone down due to expansion, and the headquarters is needed to recruit, train and deploy teachers for purposes of equity and quality, and to avoid haphazard teaching and learning.

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*To be filled during interviews:*

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### *3. Governance (Authority and Decision-making)*

Decentralisation processes bring mechanisms of power sharing at the centre, regions, schools, and amongst all stakeholders. However, if decisions are largely by the Centre then resources can be equitably distributed between urban and rural schools. There are tendencies of being hesitant to share power, or lose power. "If I have to share power I cannot control" (Interviewee). Power sharing is possible, but people still believe headquarters can perform better than schools and regions, and think the headquarters should keep some power on policy matters such as the national curriculum, standards, monitoring and co-ordination. The legal position on authority and decision making is not clear and this contributes to a lack of power sharing. Stakeholders at the regional and local level will have representation on school boards and will determine specific schools' policies and allocate the operating budget.

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*To be filled during interviews:*

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### *4. Regulation (Accountability and Control)*

In Botswana, schools and regions are expected to feed the headquarters with information for the modification of policies. The Ministry of Education sets standards of performance and control, and make schools accountable to the headquarters. The issue of competition for admission cannot occur equitably between urban and rural areas. Closing down schools due to under performance is not possible since in many areas there is only one school. The rural communities lack knowledge about education, and prefer schools being accountable to the regions and headquarters. Central and regional inspectors and examination results will monitor and regulate school quality.



Please comment

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*To be filled during interviews:*

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## 5. Discipline

Decentralisation could enable schools and regions to handle teachers and students discipline cases. The country is wide and the schools are many now. Head office cannot cope with all the many cases of discipline. But, heads and regional officers are still on the learning curve. Other areas have inexperienced personnel and expertise shortages. The legal implication of handling some cases is beyond the expertise of schools and regions. People are still sceptical about change, and do not trust the changed structure in education. Headquarters will continue to dominate very much on discipline cases.

Please comment:

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*To be filled during interviews:*

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## 6. Human Resources (Manpower)

Regions and school are still under staffed. The scheme of service is failing to attract experienced and qualified staff, as salaries are not attractive. The manpower shortages differ from region to region and from school to school. There is virtually, an accepted belief that, under these conditions the centre should continue with the responsibilities for addressing this issue.

Please comment:

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*To be filled during interviews:*

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**Scenario Choice / Preference**

Which scenario would you think desirable for the Botswana education system? Which scenario do you think is most feasible? OR would you like to describe your own preferred scenario? Please use the space below to describe your scenario.

**Scenario choice: One / Two / Three / Own (please circle)**

***1. Funding***

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***2. Provision (Teachers and Curriculum)***

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***3. Governance (Authority and decision making)***

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***4. Regulation (accountability and Control)***

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***5. Discipline***

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*6. Human Resources (Manpower)*

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## **APPENDIX 5**

### **PILOT RESEARCH FINDINGS: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

#### **1.1. Introduction**

An effort was made in presenting the pilot research findings according to the major categories (general heading) that appear in the interview schedule. It was an attempt to establish the findings of each category as per information obtained through the individual responses during the interviews. To put the interview schedule through the pilot research exercises, three (3) Head teachers were interviewed. Two of the head teachers interviewed were head teachers of Community Junior Secondary schools, and one head teacher of a senior secondary school. All the head teachers had more than 10 years experience at their current posts. Their schools were situated in the main villages (Semi-Urban) in the Southern Region in Botswana. During the proceedings of the pilot research findings presentation, the following short notes will be used: HJ (Head of Junior Secondary School) and HS (Head of Senior Secondary School).

#### **2.1 Decentralisation/Devolution Process in Botswana**

The main purpose of this area is to find out if there is any decentralisation process in Botswana, and how stakeholders' best define it according to their understanding. Furthermore, to establish any possible advantages and disadvantages in respect of Botswana current situation. The following are responses given by the pilot interviewees.

##### ***2.1 Best definition of decentralisation/devolution process in Botswana***

HJ1: Decentralisation is the task of bringing the service to the people (stake-holders). But the process is still having some questions.

HJ2: The process aims to reduce the amount of pressure at the Headquarters, and to give other stake-holders some responsibility in the education system.

HS1: Decentralisation takes out some functions from the centre (Headquarters) nearer to the people or centres of delivery (Regions and schools).

##### ***2.2 Advantages of decentralisation process in Botswana***

HJ1: One advantage of the process is to solve problems faster. It allows the head teacher to participate in the process. Headquarters no longer taken as sole providers. The process allows for quicker responses, Regions are now functioning and some issues Things like temporary

HJ2: Staff recruitment (temporary teachers) is now done at Regional level. It is very economic to have some of the things done at the regions. The process provides solutions to distance problems. Decentralisation provides quicker responses, but this still depends on the power given to regional officers.

HS1: The process brings the services near the people. It provides faster delivery. The regions and schools can make decisions an employment of temporary teachers. Some functions on salaries such as casualty returns are now prepared at schools for faster payments.

### ***2.3 Disadvantages of decentralisation process in Botswana***

HJ1: Regions are still understaffed. There are numerous changes over heads. Where there is change, there must be some personnel training through workshops. The establishment of heads of departments is rather too slow, such that some schools still don't have heads of departments. The process has problems related to staff transfers, scholarships and personnel replacement.

HJ2: One disadvantage is that, even if it is an emergency case, you are still referred to the region, where the regional education officer is incapacitated or not there, Shortage of manpower/human resources at the regions is still a major problem.

HS: Decentralisation has a disadvantage of manpower provision at regional level and the quality of personnel as well. It provides delays in actions because a lot of things are still referred to the headquarters, as there is lack of quality and confidence. There is a role conflict as things are still not clear as to where the school should go/come.

### **3.1 The rationale for the desired decentralisation in Botswana**

For decentralisation to be planned implemented practised in Botswana education system there ought to be demand for the process which will pose the desired rationale for it. This section intends to put forward the interviewees' views as may relate to the rationale for the desired decentralisation in Botswana education system.

### ***3.2 The rationale for decentralisation Botswana***

HJ1: The rational for decentralisation is to transfer services closer to the people. To make delivery efficient and effective. Off-loading the Headquarters. To avoid delays in crucial areas such as Maternity leave. To provide Staff-development, job training and in-service.

HJ2: The rational for decentralisation is due to technological advancement. To give more responsibility to stake holders. Population increases demanding school increase and expansion. Taking education to the people at their locality, and for the purpose of equity.

HS1: Expansion in the system has necessitated decentralisation, and delegation on broader bases. It was crucial for the Ministry of Education to deconcentrate power and involve other stakeholders. For the purpose of giving power to the regions and thereby off-loading Teaching Service Management, Secondary Department and most profoundly the Ministry of Education.

### ***3.3 Desirable forms of decentralisation in Botswana***

HJ1: There should be great improvement on staffing at all levels for the decentralisation process to work. All stakeholders need to be knowledgeable about the process. Duties should be defined, and stakeholders should be more empowered. Stands should be defined such that school heads know their roles. Because of lack of clarity on stakeholders' roles, certain issues are still treated as sensitive and officers hesitant to make decisions and/or take action.

HJ2: 'We need to decentralise', as most forms of the process are desirable. School administration needs to be decentralised particularly on finance issues. School head's responsibilities need to be decentralised. Senior Education Officers (subjects) must be posted to regions to take charge of subject matters at their respective regions and offer immediate support to the schools. There a finance officer/controller post should be established at the regions.

HS1: Schools should be given authority to admit and expel students (for example from boarding facilities), procedure to act in this matter takes longer as it has to be referred to the minister. Finance issues such as development plan vote at schools need to be decentralised, such that schools could allocate and control this vote as they see fit.

#### **4.1 Decentralisation progress and plans in Botswana education system.**

This section intends to explore the strides made by Botswana to decentralised the education system by presenting interviewees' opinion as to whether any decentralisation process has taken course. And to further explore any future plans for further decentralisation in Botswana education system.

##### ***4.1.2 Decentralisation progress in Botswana education system.***

HJ1: Decentralisation process it's there' and to a certain extend it has worked. It has worked because now we have regional education offices.

HJ2: "Yes the process it's there". Staffing is now easy. Head teachers can now recommend temporary teachers for employment.

HS1: 'Of course yes, some of the functions' have been decentralised. Regional education offices have been established. Casualty return forms for staff payment are prepared at schools and regions. Regional offices not Headquarters now do internal regional transfers of teachers.

##### ***4.1.3 Plans for further decentralisation in Botswana education system.***

HJ1: 'Yes plans are there' such as plans to improve regional staffing; provision of more personnel, more resources, office accommodation and to offer better services.

HJ2: 'Of course' distance call for more decentralisation "We may even further establish sub-regions"

HS1: Structures of decentralisation are still to come. Hence resources made available such that somebody at Headquarters will be overseeing Chief Education Officer (CEO) at the regions. Region ought to have more power to deal with issues.

## **5. 1 The current problems/constraints faced by Botswana education system**

The purpose of this section is to try and find out from the interviewees, if there are any current problems/constraints faced by the Botswana education system, and to establish as to whether some of these problems are related to the way education is regulated, funded and provided. Furthermore, to establish as to whether the Ministry of Education (MoE), Regional Education offices (REOS) and schools are faced with any current problems/constraints as a result of the decentralisation process.

### ***5.1.1 The current problems faced by Botswana education system***

HJ1: 'Lack of manpower' to carry out duties. Regional officers not enough. Lack of office and staff accommodation. Staff movement conflicting with the desired change. Due to massive staff movement there is no stability. Decentralisation is a new change and it differs from region to region.

HJ2: "Lack of manpower". "Lack of man-power training". The process over loads heads because at the moment In-service officers are not enough. There is conflict of interest between heads and other officers.

HS1: Lack of manpower at Headquarters, Regions and schools. Some programmes at school level are not properly followed up. For example, appraisals and school development plans. Inspectorate is still at headquarters but not at the regions. Feedback after inspection is seriously delayed.

### ***5.1.2 Why is Botswana education faced with such current problems***

HJ1: At school level heads are not involved during the process of transfers of heads and teachers unless if the transfer was requested for. New projects and implementation process suffer due to insufficient consultation in transfer matters. People know each other and the human element may come into play (nepotism and corruption)

HJ2: Government should have conducted empirical research before implementation of the decentralisation process. The system is faced with problems because of lack of staff, staff training and development. This could have taken place before implementation exercise. There is a lot of backward-forward movement in the system. Which cause a lot of confusion.

HS: There are problems because Botswana is still young and developing. Still experimenting things (Botswana is at experimental curve). People are not well motivated (hard working is not recognised and picked).

### ***5.1.3 The current problems as they relate to the regulation, funding and provision***

#### **a) Regulation of Education**

HJ1: "Yes there are problems related to the way education is regulated. For example, headquarters does most of the transfer cases. There is no consultation. Headquarters mainly does staff recruitment. "Heads just declare a vacant post at their schools". As per the regulations, the lines of operation are very unclear.

HJ2: "The regulation of education is fine". There should be a bit of uniformity.

HS1: "Their regulation is good". There must be some control, but when proposing decentralisation implementation the regulations must be considered to review conflicting areas.

#### b) Finding of Education

HJ1: Decentralisation is very minimal in terms of funding as headquarters determines it. Heads of schools just feature on estimates, but only to get the standardised payment per child or per vote in such areas as student books, sports and feeding. Special needs students have no extra funding. Heads are not empowered on funding, 'but may recommend for virements' to headquarters.

HS1: 'The funding of education is adequate, but the allocation is not'. Allocation is not equitable especially on special needs students. The uniform funding of areas such as boarding, transportation and accommodation is unfair as different schools have different needs. As for students books it is very unfair because schools do not offer same number of subjects.

#### (c) Provision of Education

HJ1: The provision of education has got no problems at all. We can not diversify because community projects are not easy. Headquarters still feel we are underdeveloped and that is why we still follow the national curriculum. We are very much not ready to provide according to district or regional expectations. "We are still developing".

HJ2: There is lack of involvement of regional stakeholders in the curriculum design. There is lack of consultation with school on matters of the curriculum management. Schools just follow the prescribed curriculum.

### ***5.1.4 The current problems/contraints as a result of decentralising Botswana education system: Ministry of Education, Regional Education Offices and Schools***

#### a) Ministry of Education

HJ1: "Staffing problems and inadequate resources".

HJ2: "Man-power problems and inadequate facilities".

HS: "The top-down view of management is still a problem." There is still a problem of bureaucratic hierarchical structure. 'Implementors still receive prescriptions'. Lack of adequate officers who can advice schools.



## **b) Regional Education offices**

HJ1: Regional Offices have staffing problem. The officers have inadequate information. Lack of money and resources to be used at the regions as per regional demands.

HJ2: 'Regional Education Offices have man-power problems' (Lack of Staff).

HS: Regional Education offices still have manpower problem. The offices at the regions still lack confidence to perform duties. As a result heads and schools still prefer headquarters. Decentralisation as a change has not settled yet.

## **c) Schools**

HJ1: Inadequate staffing is still a problem to take up duties as per demand of the decentralisation process. Funds and resources are very much limited at schools.

HJ2: "Inadequate manpower". For example, vacant heads of department posts.

HS: "Very little decentralisation has taken place," not much has been done. Only the management structures have changed. The new system on transfers within the regions benefit the decentralisation process.

## **6.1 The current problems faced by the interviewees/key stakeholders**

Under this section an attempt will be made to present the current problems faced by each interviewees and to establish as to whether those problems faced by each interviewee are different from those faced by other stake holders. And to explore as to whether it is the urban or rural areas which are faced more by such current problems.

### ***6.1.1 The current problems faced by interviewees / key stakeholders***

HJ1: As a head I am not wholly empowered. I have problems of staffing, as the staff is not enough. The Board and PTA are not very much empowered, but is empowerment needed such that we could empower others. I have difficulties in involving other key stake- holders in the process.

HJ2: As a key stakeholder I need more manpower and more staff training and development to practice decentralisation.

HS: "I am faced with problems of accommodation and there are things that I can do.' But others like final decision I cannot do. For example 'initially there were houses to be built, but they were reduced to 10 during the construction. In principle I am happy with the decentralisation arrangement, but the delivery is not yet effective. The Chief Education Officer of our region is understaffed and has no deputy.

### ***6.1.2 Differences between problems faced by interviewee and other stakeholders***

HJ1: Distance wise I am better off as I am closer to the region'. My problems differ with other stakeholders' problems as I get the response faster.

HJ2: 'yes, there are some differences as distance from the region differs. Generally, there are no incentives regarding decisions. The issue of uniform rental on staff houses is the same for all of us as it disempowers school heads and Board of Governors.

HS1: Those at the rural are worse.

### ***6.1.3 Areas faced more by the current problems: Urban or Rural***

HJ1: Rural areas are faced more by the current problems as they are very far away, and some do not have telephone facilities. The communication between rural area and the regions, headquarters is very poor. Rural areas do not get enough information and the environment play its part.

HJ2: Rural areas are faced with more problems as the distance puts them far away from facilities and centres. The uniform rentals is a problem because rural houses do not have heating systems, water mostly cold, electricity not available except the on and off generator facilities.

HS1: Naturally rural areas suffer more. The quality of facilities at rural areas is very poor. For example the computer facility has not yet reached the rural areas. The urban areas are at an advantage due to proximity to headquarters.

## **7.1 Vision and Way forward for improvement**

This section plans to find out from interviewees the types of problems that the forms decentralisation are expected to solve, and as to whether competition for students by schools would solve some of the key problems. Again the section would seek the way forward for improvement in decentralising Botswana education system, and what should actually happens. Views as to whether competition between public and private schools can provide solutions to key problems will be sort.

### **7.1.1 problem solution by the reforms of decentralisation**

HJ1: Decentralisation can solve problems of poor communication and consultation can provide more staff training and development. Teacher training colleges should include certain aspects of change (decentralisation) such that new teachers (novice teachers) should have some light of what is happening at schools. Decentralisation can help in involving community in the education system.

HJ2: Decentralisation can reduce the workload at headquarters. The distance problems between schools and regional offices would be solved. Decentralisation would help in re-sourcing regions (Human and physical)

HS: Decentralisation would help in the provision of human and physical resources. Transport problems would be solved. Accommodation problems (office and residential) would be alleviated. There will be more support staff (personnel) at the regions.

### ***7.1.3 Competition for Students by schools***

HJ1: Having zoning system/catchment area is a problem, why pin parents. There should be a parental choice. School should be allowed to choose their own students. Subject options should be made available in the curriculum and this would give parents chance to choose the school they want. However, that cannot apply equally in both urban and rural areas, because some schools do not have boarding facilities.

HJ2: Competition is needed where applicable. It cannot apply equally in urban and rural areas. It can be difficult in rural areas. In Botswana, competition for students by schools cannot work at the moment.

HS1: Competition for students by schools wont work.. It will be unfair to some school because of urban-rural conditions. Some schools will be over crowded while others would be empty.

### ***7.1.3 The way forward for improvement in decentralising Botswana education system***

HJ1: There should be staff stability at all levels.

HJ2: There should be more research done on decentralisation process. Training of staff at all levels is needed. Involvement of more stakeholders when dealing with curriculum issues. For example fishery and animal production may not be the same in all parts of the country. More stakeholders should be involved during the policy formation.

HS1: There should be enough provision of resources at the regions and schools. There should be parity between regions. Office accommodation should be made available.

### ***7.1.4 Competition between public and private schools***

HJ1: 'Where possible let them compete, though there will be some problems. There will be limitations due to catchment areas.

HJ2: 'Yes, let them compete'! Competition will call for better personnel, better living conditions, and better outcomes/performance.

HS: Competition between public and private schools would be very much unfair to other schools because resource allocation and environment are not the same. Again the home environment problems comes into play. Any type of competition would be unfair.

## **8.1 Limitations/'Downside' of such reforms**

This section intends to find out from the interviewees if there are any limitations/downside' of decentralisation reforms. And to find out if there can be absolute decentralisation in Botswana education system.

### ***8.1.2 Limitations/'Downside'***

HJ1: 'Inadequate manpower'. Lack of human and physical resources.

HJ2: 'Inadequate manpower'. Officers are not enough to carry duties as required by the reforms.

HS1: 'Inadequate resources'. School culture is a problem, sometime the school culture works against the reforms. School development plans interfere with the reforms. The primary issue in school development plan is to improve the quality of teaching and learning. Decentralisation is limited by lack of funding and in-service training.

### ***8.1.3 Radical decentralisation in Botswana education system***

HJ1: 'We can have absolute decentralisation but not overnight. Perhaps if we could speed the pace. However, at the moment we cannot have absolute decentralisation because we are still developing.

HJ2: "No!" The government has not been decentralised itself. Policy formulation is still performed at headquarters. The government is still the sole provider and very centralised to take control make sure that things are happening).

HS1: "No!" The country is still small (developing). The budget too tight. So, it is not possible as at nw to have absolute decentralisation. The population doesn't allow this.

### **9.1 Things to be taken on board during the real interview research exercise as picked from the pilot research.**

The heading '*Decentralisation Process in Botswana education system*' in section 3 in the Interview Schedule was changed to read: *Decentralisation Progress and Plans in the Botswana Education System*' to avoid confusion with the heading in Section 1. Otherwise questions remained the same.

The timing was fine but I had to take control to avoid unnecessary delays and overlaps. However the interviewees' co-workers interventions and telephone system caused some delays in calls.

\* The pilot taught me to ask questions with a sharp and clear voice and to avoid excessive repetition.

\* I learnt to take the setting arrangement into consideration.

\* At times I was disappointed by the sound-sensitive tape-recording machine, especially when voices were low.

\* Otherwise the Interview Schedule was fine (questions and spaces). But, the feeling was that it was a bit long.

## **APPENDIX 6**

### **EXAMPLES OF RAW DATA FROM THE FIRST ROUND OF INTERVIEWS**

#### **1. Introduction**

This appendix presents examples of the transcriptions of interviewees' responses during the first round of interviews. The responses have, however, been categorised according to the major concepts used in this analysis.

During the interview exercise and for the sake of easy recording, interviewees were sequentially coded as I1, I2, I3, and etceteras. But, for purposes of easy flow during the reading, comprehension, and understanding new codes will be created, and presentation will be done according to groups that interviewees fall in. The new codes will be used as shown below:

HqO =Headquarters Official (Minister, Permanent Secretary, Director)  
REO / CEO = Regional Education Officer/Chief Education Officer (Region)  
HS = Head of a Senior Secondary  
HJ = Head of a Junior Secondary School  
TS = Teacher at a Senior Secondary School  
TJ = Teacher at a Junior Secondary School  
PS = Parent Representative at a Senior Secondary School  
PJ = Parent representative at a Junior Secondary School.

On certain occasions interviewees from rural area will be symbolised as (R) and urban area as (U).

Data from the following are presented. The Minister of Education, the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education, four (4) Chief Education Officers/Regional Education Officers, two (2) Heads of Senior Secondary Schools (1 urban and 1 rural), two (2) Heads of Junior Secondary Schools (1 rural and 1 urban), two (2) teachers of Senior Secondary Schools (1 urban and 1 rural), two (2) teachers of Junior Secondary Schools (1 urban and 1 rural) and two (2) parent representatives (1 urban and 1 rural). The total number of interviewees summed up to eighteen (18). The researcher had planned to interview twenty (20) Key stake-holders, but could not get hold of the two other parent representatives from schools that were put in the sample due to certain difficulties (non-existence of Board / PTA and lack of competent / knowledgeable parent representative). Attempts to interview two former Ministers failed due to their tight schedule.

The presentation will follow this format in each category or heading: headquarters officials (HqO); Regional Education Officers / Chief Education Officers (CEO), Heads of schools (HS and HJ), Teachers (TS and TJ), parent representatives (PS and PJ).

## 2. Interviewee Information

The purpose of this section is to provide the interviewee information collected as per demand of the last section of the interview schedule on page eight (8). I will further provide a clear picture as to how the new codes were introduced to the individual interviewees.

**Table 1: Interviewee Information**

Interview ee No.	New Code	Post	Years in Post	Urban / Rural	Male /Fem ale
I1	HS1	Head	16	U	M
I2	TS1	Teacher	11	U	M
I3	HJ1	Head	12	U	F
I4	TJ1	Teacher	5	U	F
I5	PJ1	Board Member	5	U	F
I6	HJ2	Head	13	R	M
I7	TJ2	Teacher	10	R	M
I8	CE01	CEO Rep / Inspector	11	R	M
I9	HS2	Head	3	R	M
I10	TS2	Teacher	3	R	M
I11	PS1	PTA-Chair	2	R	M
I12	CE02	CEO	1	U	M
I13	CE03	ActingCEO	7	U	M
I14	CE04	ActingCEO	2	R	M
I15	Hq01	Director	3	U	M
I16	Hq02	Director	1	U	M
I17	Hq03	Perm.Sec.	5	U	M
I18	Hq04	Minister	1 month	U	M

Note:\*CE01 is school inspector but represented the CEO in his absence.

## 3. Decentralisation / Devolution Process in Botswana.

As part of this research this category plans to find out in what ways the decentralisation process has been effected and how stakeholders understand the process, and how they best define it. In addition to this interviewees' responses are presented as to whether decentralisation process has any advantages and disadvantages based on Botswana current situation.

### 3.1 BEST DEFINITION OF THE DECENTRALISATION PROCESS IN BOTSWANA

HqO1: 'Decentralisation is a situation where we want to take services to customers such as teachers'. One example is the Teaching Service Management's intention to take some functions to the regions.

HqO2: 'It is a process that takes services to the people such as teachers and regions'. Decentralisation has a concept of empowering people providing the services, and reducing pressure at headquarters.

HqO3: Decentralisation is a process that takes services to lower levels. It ensures better co-ordination between lower levels and Ministry of Education. 'Mind you, lower levels know their environment'.

HqO4: "Decentralisation is a way of removing the running of education from headquarters to the districts and regions".

CEO1: It can be best defined as taking the service to the regions, and schools are treated as customers. This process allows schools to be served at the regions.

CE02: 'It is a process getting the services nearer to the people'. As a results Botswana has established five (5) regions, and according to plan, they will soon be six (6) regions throughout the country.

CE03: Decentralisation is a way of taking services to the people (other stakeholders) at the regions.

CE04: It is a process meant to bring the functions to the people (clients and schools)

HS1: Decentralisation process takes decisions to the grass root level, where by key issues are dealt with at the regions and school level.

HS2: It is a realisation by central government that things cannot be done from the central point (headquarters). The process provides empowerment of all stakeholders

HJ1: It means getting people to participate in policy formulation and a lot of other things. Making people aware that without their contributions we would not yet quality services and effectiveness.

HJ2: A process where decisions are done at regional offices and schools.

TS1: Decentralisation means taking duties and services from one office to a number of offices countrywide. Deconcentrating decision power to other people.

TS2: It means empowerment of people at the site.

TJ1: It is a process that gives certain duties to regions and schools. For example, teachers salaries casualty return forms are now prepared at the schools and regions.

TJ2: Referring cases to where the teachers are. The process allows cases to be handled within the neighbourhood areas.

PS1: It is a way of empowering parents and other stakeholders. Children stay more time with us (parents).

PJ1: Decentralisation reduces the workload from the central point of service to other places in order to improve productivity, and reduce delays. It allows room for involvement of other stakeholders.

### 3.2 ADVANTAGES OF DECENTRALISATION PROCESS IN BOTSWANA

HqO1: Decentralisation process saves time. Functions take shorter time and communication becomes easy. Decentralisation cuts on mishaps. Teachers do not take too long to seek for services in terms of distance. The process is very economic.

HqO2: It brings services near to the people and services done timeously with no delays. It provides room for transparency. As opposed to centralisation, decentralisation creates room for more inquiry.

HqO3: It has advantages of effectiveness of delivery of service, and people are better placed to carry needs assessment at local level. The process is very sensitive to local needs, as people are better placed to evaluate and assess.

HqO4: It provides access to service to the people at the regions decentralisation has an advantage of involving all stakeholders in the education system. It allows for responsibility of all. In a way it assists in bringing uniformity. For example, people getting close contact with the service personnel.

CE01: One advantage is that decentralisation brings services near to the people. It reduces the problem of long distance. Time is saved, and issues are responded to quickly.

CE02: Teachers are helped on the grounds faster. Problems are solved locally, and teachers are now having close contact with regional service officers. Decentralisation makes supervision easier.

CE03: Decentralisation shortens the distance. Actions are taken promptly. It provides general satisfaction to the nation, because it is cost effective. Local authorities easily get local feedback.

CE04: Decentralisation takes services to the people from the centre (headquarters) and reduces the distance to be travelled. It develops the attitude of sharing of authority. People get quicker responses. Regional officers understand situations at the schools, and this creates more understanding of problems. As regional officers are based nearer to the schools, it becomes easy to see policy implementation. Decentralisation is good for taking action research at the regions and schools.

HS1: The process allows for quicker responses to issues and people are likely to respond to those kinds of issues accordingly. Offenders know that action can be taken on the spot, and are likely to have good discipline.



HS2: There is room for speedy responses to issue. The process provides motivation to those empowered. It decreases the backlog of things that are to be done. Those empowered to take decision become more accountable.

HJ1: "There are many advantages". By involving people you are empowering them to participate in the learning process (school). Harnessing the expertise possessed by those who are more experienced, for the betterment of their job. People at the grass root level also get a chance to contribute in the education system.

HJ2: Decentralisation makes the job easy at all levels, as there are speedy responses. Now heads of schools does staff recruitment (temporary teachers). It makes finance management easier, as schools now have heads of department, and things move faster.

TS1: Botswana is a vast country. Areas are very far apart. Therefore decentralisation cuts down on costs in terms of travel and time. It provides speedy delivery of services. Human phase: acknowledgement of human resources (officers) at the regions.

TS2: Decentralisation has an advantage as it empowers people at the site to take/make decisions on the spot. It facilitates quicker responses to issues. It raises productivity as workers now that actions can be taken on the spot.

TJ1: Decentralisation reduces backlog of job / duties at headquarters.

TJ2: "You get to know your people". Regional Education Officers know the schools and teachers, as there will be dealing with fewer schools. Headquarters does not deal with all the issues.

PS1: "As Botswana we started from villages". Therefore, decentralisation process is meant for empowerment of people at the villages. The idea is to try and pick the standard of education at the regions and villages. It makes the villages attractive to officers (development at the rural villages).

PJ1: Decentralisation increases ownership and partnership in the education process. It reduces bureaucratic hierarchy; rather than follow certain procedures to the centre (headquarters), things are done at the regions. Processing gets quicker. For example procedure for further studies.

### 3.3. DISADVANTAGES OF DECENTRALISATION PROCESS IN BOTSWANA

HqO1: Facilities are not enough to see the smooth implementation. The lack of accommodation in terms of offices and residential. Transport is a major problem especially at wide regions. "Decentralisation bring services closer but not near'. Decentralisation has disadvantage of transfer resistance from urban areas to rural areas or in some case vice-versa.

HqO2: The resources are very scarce, and are to be shared. There is a manpower problem and regions are to be provided with additional manpower. Subject Education Officers are not enough and some subject areas affected do suffer at the regional level. One disadvantage is that things may be done out of personal interest. People at regions

know each other, and there is a possibility of isolated cases of nepotism and favouritism.

HqO3: Decentralisation should not mean abdication, otherwise things may go wrong. There must be clear division of duties, otherwise things may be thrown off balance. Headquarters and regions must have defined roles. Decentralisation must be everybody's job, if people don't know their roles there is bound to be a lot of confusion. One disadvantage is that decentralisation cannot work without adequate manpower.

HqO4: The disadvantages may be there if there are no trained personnel.

CE01: "There are no disadvantages, since we are following centralised policy / programme".

CE02: The provision of manpower in the regions was not properly planned. Finance need to be provided to the regions. There is an acute lack of accommodation (offices and residential) and transport.

CE03: The disadvantages such as lack of commonality / uniformity and co-ordination. Monitoring of government policy implementation becomes difficult. Human factor may surface, as some people may be selfish and always fighting for the best.

CE04 Even though decentralisation may take place, there are disadvantages when there is limited empowerment. Decentralisation brings a problem of having to deal with different authorities, since schools fall within different councils. One officer may be manning schools falling in three to four different district councils. Decentralisation makes it difficult to get staff.

HS1: Power may be misused. There may be no consistency because there will be varied actions taken.

HS2: There is manpower shortage at some regions. The resources to be used in the process are inadequate. Financial problem may be heavy at some regions. Material may not be easy to get. Accommodation for both residential and offices makes it almost impossible to some regions. One disadvantage may be the difference in the interpretation of the policy. At the moment enough has not been done to sensitise all stakeholders.

HJ1: At the moment there is a disadvantage of legal power sharing, as leaders (heads and senior officers) may feel less effective. Decentralisation affects the efficiency of the organisation unlike when centrally controlled. "It is quite a pain if people are not motivated". At times decisions take longer, because of uncertainties.

HJ2: Still in some cases we have to consult especially when power is not there. There is a disadvantage when the head makes decisions and those decisions get reversed. The procedure sometimes causes a lot of delays. For example the financial returns are prepared at the school, then taken to the regional offices, then to Secondary department and in the end Ministry of Finance. Somewhere along the line there are a lot of delays.

TS1: There are difficulties in identifying the personnel at the regions. There are additional costs in terms of infrastructure (office accommodation). There are problems of training and in-servicing.

TS2: Decentralisation brings the moral down especially when decisions are done faster and haphazardly. There is a possibility of hatred and abuse of power in the process. Corruption and nepotism regarding promotions, confirmation of teachers' transfers, leave processing and further studies may come into play.

TJ1: Decentralisation causes problems in areas such as teachers salaries because of too many untrained staff posted to the regions. There are a lot of delays due to the novice personnel. Some officers at headquarters are left with very little to do.

TJ2: Favouritism may surface along the process, particularly in the processing of promotion, further studies and transfers.

PS1 "It all depends on the work relationship between parents and teachers." Otherwise there can be very limited disadvantages.

PJ1: Since it is a new process in place, it still too early to say. However, there might be a problem of lack of experienced personnel / staff. Delays may be caused by ignorance / uncertainties (not sure). There may be favouritism in progression when dealing with promotions and further studies. There is a possibility of considerable delays just for the sake of transparency, rather than focusing on qualifications.

#### **4. The rationale for the desired decentralisation in Botswana**

As there have been recommendations for greater decentralisation in Botswana education system, one ought to establish the rationale behind such intended reforms. Furthermore, it would be interesting to find out the most desirable forms of decentralisation for a developing country such as Botswana.

This section is the duty bound to present the responses of the interviewees, as they perceive the rationale for, and the most desirable forms of decentralisation necessary for Botswana education system.

##### **4.1 THE RATIONALE FOR DECENTRALISATION IN BOTSWANA**

HqO1: Botswana is wide and sparsely populated country. Schools are all over the country, as influenced by the expansion. This has lead to a call for greater decentralisation.

HqO2: 'Basically the system has expanded. There are no more six (6) secondary schools as at independence, now there are 205 Community Junior Secondary Schools and twenty seven (27) Senior secondary schools: This has necessitated decentralisation to reduce the distance and communication problems.

HqO3: To empower the lower staff and create workable structures that are more effective for service delivery. The other rationale for decentralisation is to make monitoring very easy.

HqO4: Botswana is a vast country of an area Of 584 square Kilometres, and this made communication very difficult. So, decentralisation was very crucial.

CE01: "To bring services nearer to the people".

CE02: For the purpose of effectiveness and efficiency. To create room for more participation by all stakeholders. 'Centralised system has a lot of higs-ups and decentralisation has less hiccups.

CE03: To empower local stakeholders and professionals such as Chief Education Officers, heads and teachers at the regions. To expedite policy implementation.

CE04: The rationale is to be more efficient and to have provision of quality. To take development to the other parts of the country, and bring services nearer to the people to cut down long distance to be travelled.

HS1: the education system is growing and there can't be control from one point. Now we have more trained people to deal with issues on the spot. Clients are enlightened and would like to see justice with no divide. There is call for faster responses.

HS2: To meet the global changes. The system has expanded and management is difficult for headquarters.

HJ1: To make organisations more effective and productive. More people get involved and they develop. The near hood of offices is time saving, very economic and provides faster responses.

HJ2: In 1976, the Teaching Service was very small, and teachers very few. Now the service has expanded as there are more schools and teachers. The complexities of cases (discipline) call for faster responses. Decisions need to be done locally and regionally.

TS1: Duties and responsibilities are complex and multi-varied now. It is difficult for them to be concentrated in the hands of one person. The rational is to take services to the people. To bring developments and speedier services to the regions.

TS2: There is a large area to be covered. The rationale is to allow issues to be handled at lower levels. Teachers will be able to stay at schools because the nearest office will handle their issues of concern.

TJ1: Due to expansion in the system (schools and personnel). The aim is to improve productivity and service.

TJ2: The rationale is based on the acute expansion of schools and there is need for faster responses.

PS1: The rational is to cut down on urban-rural movement of students. To bring services nearer to the people such that they get speedy services. To reduce the cost.

PJ1: To encourage community involvement and the spirit of self-help. 'That is why we have community schools'. Parents have to share responsibility in developing the education system. Again to encourage PTAs to question / challenge issues (e.g. problem at the school). To instil the spirit of self-help into students at an early stage (work camps and projects).

#### 4.2 DESIRABLE FORMS OF DECENTRALISATION IN BOTSWANA

HqO1: Payment of teachers used to take too long to be processed. It is good that causality returns are processed at the school and regional level. Teacher confirmation would be most welcomed if it could come to the regions. Schools and regions could handle initial stages of discipline. Teacher allowances, the nomination for further studies, promotions and recommendations up to a certain level could be processed at the school and regional level.

HqO2: Decentralisation is most welcome, because it would allow headquarters to deal with policy matters and co-ordination. Regions could deal with policy implementation. Form one admissions, regions could handle policies on age for admission and readmission. Headquarters could provide uniformity, equitable distribution of resources, and deployment of teachers. Schools and regions not headquarters must handle discipline of teachers and students. This calls for the education Act to be revised.

HqO3: Headquarters should only remain with policy formulations, co-ordination, reviewing and monitoring. Schools and regions could handle all the operational activities such as in-service, salaries, school inspection, and teacher welfare.

HqO4: All the professional services should be decentralised because professionals have good contact with the people (teachers and community). Equipment provision duties should be decentralised as well.

CE01: Regions could do All teacher welfare duties such as transfers within the region, regional teacher management, and nomination for further studies. Student discipline must be decentralised to schools and regions.

CE02 'We are going through stages. Teaching Service Management is dealing with teacher welfare issues and secondary department is dealing with teacher usage.' But, things like teacher discipline, student discipline, transfers, and posting must be done by regions. Issues on finance such as salaries, teacher development and in-service, leave concessions and resources could be handled by regions.

CE03: 'Everything should be decentralised.' Headquarter should remain with co-ordination only. Teacher welfare, transfers, promotions, leave, gratuity, further studies and contracts (expatriate teachers) must go to regions. Regional offices must be given authority to process employment of expatriate teachers for private schools. Because they know the demand at those schools.

CE04: The desirable forms of decentralisation are teachers' payment, welfare, progress, in-service training and inspectorate. Because all these need a knowledgeable person who is nearer to schools.

HS1: Students admission and discipline should be decentralised. Regions should do teacher discipline, recruitment and welfare (leave, salaries and promotions) duties.

HS2: Discipline of both teachers and students needs to be decentralised. 'We still refer cases of discipline to headquarters and this cause a lot of delays'. Decentralisation in finance at community Junior secondary schools is much better than at Senior Secondary Schools. Heads at Community Junior Secondary Schools have more say on issues of finance. More empowerment is needed on finance at senior secondary schools and regions. Staff recruitment must be centralised. At the moment it only applies to temporary teachers.

HJ1: Appointment of teachers needs to be centralised to avoid abuse. Employment of temporary teachers can be left to the regions. Admission of students should be left to the regions (decentralised). Heads could meet to sort out admissions. Payment of teachers must be decentralised to avoid delays. Teacher transfers within regions need to be decentralised. Some aspects of the curriculum should be decentralised because regions differ.

HJ2: A number of forms of decentralisation are good. Employment of teachers, payments and finance needs to be decentralised. But, noncitizen recruitment must remain centralised.

TS1: "Administration aspects need to be decentralised. But still we must keep the upper offices (headquarters).

TS2: The processing of teachers' payment, welfare, confirmations, promotions and further studies must be decentralised. Curriculum evaluation (examination marking) and supply of facilities of the school should handled by regions.

TJ1: The immediate supervisors should handle Promotions of teachers. Heads and regions should do nominations for further studies. Teachers load should be decided at the school not prescribed from headquarters (syllabus = Teacher per no of periods per week). The school must decide the introduction of new subjects.

TJ2: Curriculum must remain centralised. But progression, promotions, transfers and discipline must be decentralised.

PS1: "The Regional Education Office must be brought to this area". It has been brought closer but it is not near. Students and teacher discipline must come to schools and regions. Because it is a long route for discipline cares to be settled.

PJ1: Board of Governors needs more power on teacher discipline (e.g. Rental defaulters) and on financial matters regarding maintenance of school property. Sitting allowance for Board members whom are civil servant (not entitled for sitting allowance). These Board members could be allowed to decide to donate it to school projects.

## **5. Decentralisation Progress and plans in Botswana education system.**

This section intends to reflect the progress on decentralisation or strides made by Botswana to decentralise the education system. Interviewees' opinions are canvassed to establish the degree to which decentralisation has taken place. The intention is to further explore the possible future plans for further decentralisation in the Botswana education system.

### **5.1 DECENTRALISATION PROGRESS IN BOTSWANA EDUCATION SYSTEM**

HqO1: A number of Departments in Primary and secondary education have been decentralised. We now have regional offices established. We have moved certain stages in decentralisation.

HqO2: Deployment of teachers and subject education Officers have been moved to regions. Processing of payment of teachers (casualty returns) are now done by schools and regions. Schools and regions according to their catchment areas do form one section (admission). Processing of allowances (leave, terminal benefits and transfers) are done by regions. Schools and regions do nominations for further studies at initial stages. But, promotions we still follow the old system. However, we are hoping for more decentralisation on this one to come.

HqO3: Operational functions at primary level have moved to regional offices (e.g. - school Inspectors). Secondary education will soon follow. Teacher in-service is performed at regional education centres. Non-formal education has regional offices. Latest is teacher personnel function.

HqO4: Ministry of Local government through district councils handles Primary education. Regional education offices cover the welfare of teachers and infrastructure. We now have senior staff at the regions. We will continue the struggle to support them through administration areas and professional staff.

CE01: Not much has happened. All decisions still taken centrally. Regional offices are only meant to collect data for headquarters.

CE02: Yes, there has been decentralisation. Regions are given duties and decision-making powers. We must decentralise even the personnel as well.

CE03: Granting of study leave, employment of temporary teachers and acting appointments up to school head have been given to regions. Disciplinary cases up to referral cases have gone to regions. Officers such as Teaching Service Management officers, Chief Education Officers, Principal Education officers (subjects) and school management advisors are now working at the regions. But, we still need financial advisor at the regions.

CE04: Yes, we now have Regional Education Offices. Employment of temporary teachers, promotion of teachers up to senior teacher grade 2, acting appointments study leave and Maternity leave are now processed at the regions. We now have a post of Principal Education Officer at the regions. There are school management advisors and

regional inspectors. Schools (head) handle finance functions for projects at school up to P10 000.

HS1: Major part of the system is still centralised. Some areas are delegated to regions. Power is now deconcentrated to regions. Regions can now handle within region transfers of teachers. Regions now do teachers' salaries and leave processing.

HS2: Regions do Temporary teacher recruitment, maternity leave, casualty returns and internal regional transfers. There has been establishment of Regional offices.

HJ1: We now have Regional Heads Conferences. There are cluster meetings for teachers for fertilisation of ideas. Sporting activities have been decentralised. Regional Education Offices have been established, Heads of Department and School Management teams are in place. Some responses on finance are given at regional level and school. Transfer allowance processed at the schools and regions.

HJ2: There is no decentralisation in policy. Curriculum must be centralised to avoid variations. There has been establishment of regional offices and employment of temporary teacher done at the regions. Most of these are not yet complete. It appears there has been duplication of service. Imagine Regional Offices have primary, secondary and non-formal officers.

TS1: 'Yes', by the establishment of regional offices. Inspector areas (primary and secondary) have been decentralised. Teachers' salaries (casualty returns) are done at schools and regions.

TS2: Regional Education Offices have been established. Internal regional transfers and leave concessions processed by schools and regions. Confirmation of teachers as well.

TJ1: "Not sure".

TJ2: 'Yes decentralisation is done, Employment of temporary teacher done at schools and regions. Promotion to the level of senior teacher grade 2. Back pay and acting allowances are done at the regions.

PJ1: Very little has happened. Just a little on student discipline.

PJ1: Community schools and regional offices have been established.

## 5.2 PLANS FOR FURTHER DECENTRALISATION IN BOTSWANA EDUCATION SYSTEM

HqO1: In the process decentralisation of senior officers up to D4 pay scale will be done such that they could take decisions on progression, promotion and nomination of teachers for further studies.

HqO2: There are plans to decentralise further, like inspectorate teams will be deployed to the regions. Full deployment of teachers will soon go to the regions. Promotion up to a particular level will be done at the regions. Greater decentralisation is still to come.



All departments will have to report to one senior person at the region (like district commissioners operations). This operation will work as a mini-Ministry at the region.

HqO3: There are plans to decentralise across the Ministry of education. There will be an overall structure set at the regional level. Other areas like curriculum, examinations, vocational education, training and special education will follow later. The Chief Education Officer (CEO) will have the same operation almost the same as the District Commissioner (DC).

HqO4: "I am not sure" But I believe there still much more to do. There is a possibility of further decentralisation in Teaching Service Management due to the need for computerisation.

CE01: A lot of work still has to be decentralised such as salaries and deployment of staff. 'I wish that teacher discipline could be decentralised as well.' And more on school finance.

CE02: 'We are vying for more decentralisation.' The area of Inspectorate organisation must be looked at much more closely and be decentralised. The Revised National Policy on Education is having more to be implemented on inspectorate (decentralisation).

CE03: Transfers from Senior Teacher grade i up to head of school will soon go to regions, promotions of Senior Teacher grade 1 up to deputy head will be done by regions.

CE04: More Senior positions will come to regions. For example senior teacher grade I promotions is coming to the regions. New structure that will include Chief Education Officer and Deputy Chief Education Officer, and Inspectorate will be established at the regions. The Chief Education Officer will be expected to co-ordinate all functions in the region.

HS1: The Ministry of Education is planning to decentralise the inspectorate such that inspection is done at regional level. In-service training of teachers and heads, promotion of teachers up to Senior Teacher grade 2 is done at regional level.

HS2: The Inspectorate is planned to come to the regions. Teacher Progression (further studies and progress in general will be based more on headquarters' recommendations. 'These are just wishes'.

HJ1: "Very soon we will be provided with regional Directors". We hear that there will be someone at the headquarters to see process of the education system. Inspectorate is to come to the regions.

HJ2: Staffing of regions that will include Deputy Chief Education Officer, Inspectorate and advisory teams will soon take effect.

TS1: 'Guidance and Counselling still in its infant stage, but it is coming.'

TS2: Computerisation of personal files we hear it is coming to regions. Teachers will be involved in evaluation of localised projects (Mathematics projects).

TJ1: "I haven't heard of any plans for further decentralisation."

TJ2: "Not sure. But possibly on promotions"

PS1: Not sure as at yet. May be we are not informed on that one as PTA is failing to meet."

PJ1: Hopefully, construction of staff houses, accommodation management, expansion of school classroom and transportation will be given to school boards and heads. This will develop more self-help attitude.

## **6. The current problems / constraints faced by Botswana Education System**

The Botswana education may be faced with current problems and constraints, which may be related to the way education is regulated, funded and provided. This section is trying to reflect on the interviewees' responses, which may show symptoms of problems related to the aforementioned areas. In addition to this, the section will present the views of interviewees as to whether the Ministry of Education (MoE), Regional Education Offices (REOs) and schools are faced with any problems or constraints as a result of the decentralisation process.

### **6.1 CURRELVTPROBLEMSFACEDBYBOTSWANAEDUCATIONSYSTEM**

HqO1: Even government has decided to decentralise, people are still resistant, as they are not ready to loose power at the centre. Change cannot be easily accomplished due to lack of resources (Material and human).

HqO2: There is manpower problem and we are not allowed to do recruitment for new posts. Accommodation (residential and offices) not enough. Subject Education Officers at the regions are not enough. Transfer resistances of officers especially from urban areas to rural areas. Transport is still a problem especially in wider areas.

HqO3: There is manpower shortage for effective decentralisation. Professional administrators and support staff not enough. There is lack of official and residential accommodation at the regions. Support services not available (enough). Facilities not enough and it is even worse at rural areas. We have budgetary constraints.

HqO4: Manpower and accommodation (office and residential are the main constraints)

CE01: Manpower/personnel and transport are generally the main constraints.

CE02: Finance is a problem. The idea of free education must be revised. Government now talks about payment of boarding. Foreign students benefit a lot on free education in this country. We have manpower problem, and we need personnel to liaison with schools. That is why we have foreigners in the system. Regions need more personnel. Regions around the capital are better off. At the schools we need more skilled people to deal with decentralisation process.

CE03: Manpower problem. Resources are not enough (financial and Infrastructure). Powers that be not prepared to decentralise. Instead of having experienced professionals at the regions we have new officers. This causes a lot of problems. Regions lack support from headquarters.

CE04: 'The policy is okay.' The problem lies with the implementation. We don't have knowledgeable manpower to perform the implementation. For example, some of the school head cannot implement. Teachers come from different sources (University of Botswana and colleges) and the training is different. Sometimes the frequency of changes in policy is too high for adoption. For example, curriculum and examination localisation.

HS1: Manpower shortage at regional offices (staff and personnel). A lot of posts at the regions remain vacant because they don't attract qualified people (salaries not attractive). Filling of posts highly centralised and this cause a lot of delay to fill the posts.

HS2: Pace to decentralise is very slow due to natural tendencies to loose too much power. People still not sure of what will come out of the process. There is lack of personnel. Some Botswana have got negative attitude towards other areas in the country. That is urban versus rural preferences.

HJ1: The system has manpower constraints. There are difficulties in recruitment of Senior Education Officers (example). There is problem of urban versus rural preferences. Urban areas benefit much more.

HJ2: There must be enough consultation on matters related to policy change. Enough consultation was never done. Manpower and knowledgeable personnel not enough. The promotion ladder must be strictly followed. That is movement from teacher to Deputy head to Head and in the end to inspector ate.

TS1: There need for more infrastructure, personnel, training and resources.

TS2: Clarity on duties needs to be performed by different officers (head, Chief Education Officer, etc). 'Why is Deputy head and Head of Department at the same level, this makes supervision difficult'. Another constraint is of wider areas that are to be covered at regions.

TJ1: There is lack of competency due to lack of training and staff development. People just receive letters of appointment yet not trained for the job. There is lack of co-operation from others. People are still banking on higher offices not the regions to provided the best service (people are not convinced that regional personnel can perform).

TJ2: We need task forces for final examinations to develop the curriculum. Teaching material still centralised. This makes implementation difficult. Very few people are selected at headquarters not by regions (for example, marking of examinations).

PS1: 'I don't know' I cannot blame the Ministry, region or the school. We don't get enough reports on what is happening. May be as parents we are partly to blame because we fail to participate in meetings.

PJ1: There is manpower problem and resistance to change. Inadequate facilities. Teaching service has problem of staff shortage (teachers not enough).

## 6.2 WHY IS BOTSWANA EDUCATION FACED WITH SUCH CURRENT PROBLEMS

HqO1: A change is for everybody (stakeholders), it must be embraced by all. Politician must be involved as well. Resources need to be provided. Community needs to be informed, because headquarters is still believed to be the best to perform.

HqO2: Decentralisation needs to be treated as part of development. People still have preferences (rural versus urban). Facilities are not enough (for example, computers). We are still far behind technology wise. Records still have to be networked at the regions.

HqO3: Implementation is still a problem. Decentralisation needs to be looked at in all the aspects and implications. Some problems are unavoidable because the highly centralised system. Expansion rate is high and this creates problems.

HqO4: We started small and we thought there was no need to decentralise. But the high expansion rate has created problems. Now, there is great demand for decentralisation.

CE01: manpower problem is costing the process. Offices cannot be filled. Renumeration not very attractive to pull people in. Posts remain vacant for too long.

CE02: Education is an evolving process and we need to cope with the many changes both internally and globally. There is acute need for the provision of manpower and finance to see the process implemented. However, we are bound to have some short falls as we are still developing.

CE03: The education system is faced with problems because of the rapid expansion rate. The scheme of service is failing to attract experienced and qualified officers. Salaries are not attractive.

CE04: We always aim for quality, and as such many changes are effected. This poses a lot of problems. Teachers are not very experience yet they still get appointments to move up the ladder. This makes the production difficult. The expansion rate is very high especially in community Junior Secondary schools.

HS1: Not only Ministry of Education should decentralise but other relevant ministries and departments need decentralise. For example the employment aspect need to be decentralised because the relevant departments would conflict with education departments when they decentralise alone. Grading of post is very centralised. So, regions cannot recruit any time they deem it fit for the decentralisation process. The

Ministry of Education has to justify the post before recruitment has to take place. We have the problem of trained staff most of them are trained as teachers not as for example, inspectors and administrators.

HS2: Lack of knowledge regarding the benefits of the process. There is negative attitude by officers who should be taking responsibilities at the regions. There is a problem of inadequate infrastructure.

HJ1: Manpower disparities on salaries. Posts of Senior Education Officers have not attracted the right people. Schools even attract more. People think life is better in urban areas.

HJ2: 'We decided to run before walking.' The expansion requires the system to be changed. Subject specialist (Senior Education Officers) were then immediately turn into inspectors. Just with less knowledge about the job.

TS1: Botswana is a large country, and to provide infrastructure, personnel, trained staff and resources become a big problem.

TS2: At the initial stage the process needed experts to orientate the process to the implementers. To provide clarity in certain areas. Decentralisation could have been piloted before implementation.

TJ1: There is lack of knowledge on officers who are to carry out duties. This causes a lot of delays and as such people loose confidence on officers. At times leave is proclaimed or pronounced as a reason for such many delays.

TJ2: "Decentralisation was rushed into before planning."

PS1: There is lack knowledge on the side of the parents. Parents lack responsibility on the students. Some parents are very far away, so it is difficult to attend PTA meetings. They cannot see the teachers and students frequently. They only send the students to school and see them when schools are closed/on holiday. Generally speaking parents surrender all the responsibilities to schools.

PJ1: A change from Cambridge general school certificate to International certificate (grade 2 to grade 3). "Are we not dropping to the inferior system". Students are not committed. There is lack of parental involvement in the learning process. Some parents are not very patient with teachers. Some teaching methods are outdated. Parents are not very supportive in student discipline.

### 6.3 CURRENT PROBLEMS AS THEY RELATE TO THE REGULATION, FUNDING AND PROVISION OF EDUCATION IN BOTSWANA

#### *a) Regulation of Education*

HqO1: The Education Act and the code of Regulations are still centralised and in full use. This conflicts with the decentralisation process. The urgent need for reviewing of these documents.

HqO2: 'Yes, to a large extend.' The way education is regulated poses problems. The Act need to be revised. Some of the regulations are outdated. Some areas in the act conflict with the regulations. The Education policy is revised but not the education Act and Regulations. 'Just image'.

HqO3: Regulation documents need to be reviewed. 'Delegation could be made easy'. Documents need fine-tuning. Headquarters need to hold on some aspects.

HqO4: 'Regulations must be reviewed' especially on teachers and students discipline.

CE01: "Yes". Some of the problems are related to the way education is regulated. Decisions rest with one person somewhere else. These documents are very outdated.

CE02: The way education is regulated has to be like that, because government is funding education. Education has to be regulated that way to satisfy the needs of the nation. However, most of the regulations need to be reviewed to fit the present (they are outdated).

CE03: Regulation causes problem in the system. Disciplinary cases follow a long procession. Disciplinary cases for students take too long to be heard and settled. Sometimes students graduate before hearing the verdict. The interpretation of the Act and regulations is a problem. Some heads and officers have problems with these documents. These documents need to be reviewed.

CE04: The regulation documents are outdated and they need to be revised. That is why they conflict with the latest development such as decentralisation. Some areas are very irrelevant (For example student and teacher discipline). Legal instructions do not mostly apply to school situations (current ideas). For example, new ideas on gender issues.

HS1: The regulation of free education strains the government resources. For example financial restrictions, schools operate according to centralised financial regulations.

HS2: The Act has been in place for too long. It is now a bit irrelevant in certain areas and it needs to be reviewed. The Code of Regulations (COR) need to be reviewed as well. The regulation of education must accommodate teacher organisations.

HJ1: On issues of teacher and student discipline, the regulations demand headquarters to give the final say. Conditions of service for the support staff create a lot of problems. There is no clear policy on development levy (fees).

HJ2: The regulation draft of the schools is old and outdated, it needs to be reviewed. The legal issues need to be reframed and reorganised.

TS1: Yes, regulation pose related problems. Education policy is a political document and there is an obligation for its implementation. We are still hopping from one system to another. We do not know which one to follow.

TS2: 'Documents are outdated and need to be reviewed'. For example the Code of Regulation (COR) has long been there since 1976.

TJ1: Yes, the regulations are old.

TJ2: The regulations offer prescribed policies and duties. We are told what to do. We are to follow the requirements than meeting the need of the community.

PS1: The regulations expect us to follow a long route to headquarters especially on discipline cases. This makes it difficult for the head to operate.

PJ1: Regulation of Education causes a lot of constraints. Student discipline has to follow a long prescribe route, from school head to Ministry of Education and back the same way. Policy cannot be changed.

#### *b) Funding of Education*

HqO1: The Ministry of Education (government) gives all the necessary money. This is fine. But it is only a hope that if parents pay school fees they would participate more in the system. Some people believe the government should offer free education. Even for special cases for individual departments.

HqO2: To a large extend, the funding causes problems. That is why we are still grappling with foreign students to pay fees. Free education has made parents to have dependency syndrome (developing the attitude that government should provide). Students' discipline has worsened because they know they don't pay. Vandalism during the strikes is massive, as everything is government supply.

HqO3: The current government funding is not sustainable. Government funding on all aspects of education has made the national principle of self-reliance to disappear. This is why cost sharing is now being considered. Parent lack responsibility on co-funding. Parents now have developed a negative attitude and they have abdicated responsibility.

HqO4: The free education has caused the withdrawal of parents from being responsible for student learning. They are very complacent.

CE01: The funding that is wholly done by the Ministry of Education (MoE) has caused parental withdrawal from their responsibility.

CE02: "Education is expensive." Free education must be looked at and parents asked to play a part. Some aspects like boarding must be cost-effective. Free education causes a big influx of foreign students who come to benefit from a local taxpayer.

CE03: Money per child is not enough. Special needs cases are not catered for. The way education is funded has caused withdrawal of parents from involvement. Foreign students' free education need to be revisited.

CE04: Ministry of Education (MoE) takes a lion's share from the government budget. If fees were charged we would manage projects at the schools. The Boards and the PTA needs training in order to cope with the management in schools. Due to this type of funding students lack responsibility. Officers have poor planning. The communities have surrendered everything to government. Expatriate children must pay fees.

HS1: The funding is highly centralised as it is controlled by the Ministry of finance. We follow prescribed allocations. The head can only do some variations after seeking permission from the Ministry. Special cases need special treatment (special needs students). Financial regulations are strict and centralised.

HS2: Estimates that are prepared by head are not doing the job that are meant for. Somebody at headquarters uses a different formula. There are disparities in the funding (for example, Senior Secondary Schools, Community Junior Secondary Schools and even Primary).

HJ1: Money is never enough. Special need students are not catered for. 'Mine is even having a wheelchair.' Permission has to be sorted with the headquarters for special requests (items). Schools are unique and they must be treated differently. Like those piloting Physical Education.

HJ2: Funding of the education has produced a negative aspect. Parents are not effectively involved in the learning process. Children do not care, no motivation and incentives, as everything is free. Books are not taken care of, as everything is government supplied.

TS1: Funding has greater limitation as per student head. There are varied resources material and costs. If limited their schools can't get what they want. To raise standards the cost must increase. Estimates are submitted yearly, but they seem to have no effect. Heads of departments are constrained by decisions taken from the upper offices.

TS2: Government is the main provider. There is lack of responsibility from students and teachers. There is lack of parental involvement.

TJ1: There is not enough power on financial control or management. Very little power is given to teachers on finance.

TJ2: The way the budget is done is a problem. Must be done according to school locality or needs. Financial power needed is not there in reality, otherwise fine.

PS1: We need more annual report on finance. Due to the way we fund education, parents have withdrawn their responsibility. There is no per course by expenditure.

PJ1: The funding has a set ceiling that cannot be exceeded. There is a need for community involvement in funding. For example a development levy at the schools. This could be spread over a period of years. Special needs students are not catered for. The system funding is focusing on the ordinary students. That is why some opt for private schools.

### *c) Provision of Education*

HqO1: Some subject areas still have shortage of staff.

HqO2: There is shortage of staff. At times classes go for a long period without a teacher. More is based on the national curriculum and less on the local interest. 'We travel by train' (We move together as one).



HqO3: We are having more of a central system, but we are trying to decentralise to empower teachers. Teachers and heads must be empowered to consider the curriculum according to the local needs.

HqO4: Teachers still have to be empowered, to deal with issues as they see fit.

CE01: The education system has a central provision including the raw material (people) because the curriculum is centrally prescribed.

CE02: Yes, there are problems related to the way education is provided. There is a need to improve the curriculum. Earlier on, the curriculum was more centralised on the more able students. We need to diversify further on the curriculum. Provision must be general. Special need must be justified and treated differently.

CE03: The provision has problems due to expansion and the type of intake at the colleges of education. The quality of production of teachers has gone down. The teacher-student ratio is high. The quality of student intake has gone down. There is a lack of resources to support the ambitious curriculum.

CE04: There has been enough change from teacher-centredness to student-centredness. Most teachers still lecture and not facilitating. We follow prescriptions, but teachers are allowed to bring in creativity. Timetable has a lot of limitations, for example examinations. The teacher student ratio is too high. Localities varies in number. Student ratio reduced to 40 at Junior Secondary Schools and 35 at Senior Secondary Schools.

HS1: We have a wide range of ability. High and low ability students. Both ends suffer. We use the national curriculum to cater for all. This may not be suitable because culture, ability, or even urban versus rural differs. Books are not done for the whole curriculum. Some may just cover half and we offer supplementary material.

HS2: There are just too many changes in the provision, such as examination localisation. Stakeholders need to be very involved in the curriculum. Teachers' role is not given the due consideration. That is, teacher still are to follow prescriptions.

HJ1: There are a lot of restrictions even on purchasing of material and the types of teachers you get. Heads of schools are given teachers rather than choosing them. Special needs material not catered for.

HJ2: The provision has manpower problem. Subject specialists not enough (Southern region is the worst).

TS1: There is problem of planning (infrastructure) versus training (teachers) in the provision. Teacher Deployment is still a problem. Through decentralisation, regions could provide quotations indicating number of teachers, additional classrooms and additional subjects. Curriculum still centralised which causes a lot of disparities in subjects according to school. If offering the national curriculum why no standard in all the subjects in all schools.

TS2: We follow prescriptions to get materials for the schools. There is lack of autonomy and facilities. Students are always overcrowding. Teacher- student ratio is too high (too many students per teacher). The number of classrooms and teachers must be increased.

TJ1: There is a tendency of introducing new subjects when teachers and material are not procured, or even classroom accommodation. For example Moral Education and Design and Technology. There are no teachers for those subjects. "I wish to have fewer students than about 48 students."

TJ2: As teachers we have methods in theory but we are different in ability. The current syllabus is too broad. There is no time to meet individual students needs. Material depend on individual schools. "Here the chalk boards are too old".

PS1: "I have very little knowledge on what should actually happen." But there must be limitation on sporting activities per student. There is lack of co-ordination between sporting codes. The curriculum must be diversified especially on Agriculture because different parts of the country have different needs and limitations.

PJ1: Methods of teaching/delivery are a problem, especially when it comes to student--teacher involvement that requires initiative from students and teachers. Teachers' payments still come whether they produce or not. "So, there is a why-worry attitude."

#### 6.4 CURRENT PROBLEMS / CONSTRAINTS AS A RESULT OF DECENTRALISING BOTSWANA EDUCATION SYSTEM: MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, REGIONAL EDUCATION OFFICES AND SCHOOLS

##### *a) Ministry of Education*

HqO1: The Ministry of Education is constrained by lack of resources. Again there is resistance to transfers. People do not want to go to rural areas.

HqO2: Headquarters has manpower problems. Resources are not enough. Some officers are too selfish and they do not want to decentralise or share power.

HqO3: The Ministry of Education lacks co-ordination between and within the structures. That is between headquarters, Regional Education Offices and schools. There are no clear lines of communication. Resources are not enough (budgeting, manpower and support services).

HqO4: At the Ministry of Education (headquarters), people would like to hold on power. Headquarters does not know how much power to give. Again there is a problem of manpower.

CE01: There is lack of manpower to man the offices. There is lack of transport, office accommodation and there is need for more money to be spent.

CE02: People may be having problems due to the usual performance. Holding on to power or just forgetting that we have to decentralise (human element). There is lack of manpower to perform at the regions.

CE03: The Ministry of Education lacks manpower, monitoring mechanisms, and co-ordination. Officers are hesitant to loose power. Again there is lack of feedback from regions regarding the progress.

CE04: There is need for accountability especially on finance. Because of this accountability Ministry officials are hesitant to give what they should give. The Ministry must keep the people motivated. Organisation methods are not properly implemented. There is a problem of classification of Ministry of Education. The Ministry is classified as group 3 Ministry. Then again lack of manpower.

HS1: There is a problem of manpower shortage. There is lack of trained staff to deal with issues at that level. We have limited resources (finance).

HS2: The ministry of education could have established a co-ordinating team to co-ordinate decentralisation process. The ministry lacks manpower and structures. A lot has to be done regarding the salaries in the system.

HJ1: Payments of teachers still done at headquarters Inspectorate problem due to inadequate manpower. Manpower is the general problem. The transportation problem and the Central Transport Organisation (CTO) is not coping. The is finance problem as the Ministry is too hesitant to release power on finance. The sharing of power is not normally welcomed.

HJ2: The Ministry of Education has manpower problem. So it is difficult to decentralise.

TS1: The interpretation and implementation strategies are a problem. Officers at the headquarters are sill holding on to power and they think they can still perform better than the regions. There should be no power sceptism.

TS2: Officers at headquarters are faced with a lot of pressure from all angles. They have difficulties in decentralising some of the area such as student expulsion, and teachers as well. Very much hesitant to decentralise some of the areas.

TJ1: The Ministry of Education does not have enough personnel at headquarters, regions and schools. Funds are not enough to run the show.

TJ2: There is lack of manpower at the Ministry headquarters. There is poor communication as well. There is lack of urgency to respond to issues.

PS1: 'I have got no idea regarding the problems faced by the Ministry of Education'. We haven't received any information yet.

PJ1: Ministry of Education lack office accommodation and resources. People are reluctant to go to the remote areas. There is funding problem. This is why at times the Ministry opens two offices instead of three. Planned projects are always moved forward. There is poor supervision at the Ministry.

#### *b) Regional Education Offices*

HqO1: There is lack of resources, facilities and accommodation (office and residential) at the regional offices. People are resistant to go there.

HqO2: At the regions, people are difficult to accept decentralisation. People are still holding on to the old system believing that headquarters are the best.

HqO3: The regions have a problem of effectively integrating local authorities. For example, officers, chiefs and tribal authorities to work together for the sake of the process. This create conflicts at times. The regions have shortage of man-power, resources and accommodation (office and residential).

HqO4: Having to set up a new institution (Regional operations). There is lack of man-power.

CE01: In the region the office is there, but still having to follow the centralised system. Power has not come to regions yet.

CE02 Regional Education Offices are very new. They could have had a comprehensive plan with trained people posted first. There is lack of manpower and personnel. More people are needed to carry out duties at the regions.

CE03: There is lack of manpower and resources are not enough. People are still used to communicating with headquarters not regions. Most cases are still referred to headquarters. The legality of the delegated functions face a lot of challenges (for example teacher transfers).

CE04: Regions are given wider areas to cover and distance is a problem. There is manpower problem as there are fewer officers. There is lack of transport, facilities (computers) and accommodation (office and residential). Communications is poor due to the wideness of the region and the rurality.

HS1: At the regions, staff shortage is pronounced. Finance is not enough for the process at the regions. The area to be covered by the region is too wide (schools and distance).

HS2: There is lack of manpower and accommodation (Office and residential). There is negative attitude of the people at the regions. Distance and transport are big problems at the regions due to wide areas to be covered.

HJ1: Employment of teachers take too long at the regions. We have difficulties in getting the services of Senior Education Officers or even Field Education Officers. Regions have broader areas to cover (number of schools and distance).

HJ2: Regional offices have manpower problems.

TS 1: Regional Offices have problems in administering and maintaining the personnel. There is very little inspection. "You hardly see an Inspector in class."

TS2: Regional Education Offices have vast areas to be covered.

TJ1: There isn't enough personnel and funds at the regions. There are too many schools to be covered. This create problems in delivery of services. Areas are just too broad for a single office. Transport for travelling is not enough or available.

TJ2: Regional Education Offices have manpower problems. 'Imagine one man having to handle many issues. Communication must be done between the regional offices and schools

PS1: Regions have problems of distance. Again there is a lot of delays in responding to issues.

PJ1: Regions lack facilities (Computers) and even when they are available, there are illiterate personnel at the regions. Some regions have no phone facilities. Therefore communication becomes a problem. Regions have wider areas that are difficult to man. It is difficult to operate when there is no transport and roads are bad.

### c) Schools

HqO1: Schools have problem with decentralisation because of accountability. The head is still held accountable. Discipline up to a certain level. Most cases still have to be referred.

HqO2: At schools there is a problem of dissemination of information to teachers. Posts at schools remain unfilled for too long. Expansion has posed problems at schools because it is difficult to get the qualified and experience people.

HqO3: Schools have problems in changing the attitudes of teachers and communities to fall in to the decentralisation process. Schools don't have enough qualified and experienced staff. The HIV problem is not helping the matters. Because of staff shortage there are just too many early appointments.

HqO4: Schools don't have staff. On some cases, posts remain vacant for too long (e.g. head of Department).

CEO1: Schools have big problems. The route for issues to be settled is even longer now. This is so because cases have to be routed through the regional office to headquarters.

CE02: There are very little problems now. Most schools have been serving autonomously, Decentralisation seems to have overloaded the heads with a lot of duties. But we have given them authority to work. But there are problems of vacant posts at schools (Heads of Departments). Because of expansion, movement up the categories has created a lot of vacant posts.

CE03: At schools there is lack of clarity of roles (job descriptions). There are a lot of in-experienced people due to expansion and parallel progression. There is a lot of resentment due to Scarce-Skills problems. There is lack of professional commitment at schools. Localisation is posing problems as this causes a lot of resentment from

experience expatriates towards in- experienced heads. In-experienced heads heading very experienced expatriates. These create a lot of problems as these expatriate lack acceptance of heads, heads of departments and senior teachers.

CE04: Schools have staff shortages. There is no motivation due to scarce-skills and parallel progression. Some schools are poorly built. Most posts are not filled. Some heads are still on the learning curve as well as teachers.

HS1: People trust the changed structures. They still believe the Ministry headquarters can solve problems better. Some people at the schools are not well equipped with knowledge. There are a lot of delays caused by a longer route chain. We still follow the centralised system. Other functions are still centralised.

HS2: Heads were not well orientated to the process. People are still sceptical about change. They believe headquarters are the best. Cases are still referred. This develops the attitude to believe that regions are not capable. Decentralisation has many things involved and difficult to handle. For example, curriculum change and localisation of examinations.

HJ1: At schools the staff is not adequately prepared for a change. They are not confident. Monitoring should be in place at schools. We are not ready to accept the process at schools. The community is not forthcoming. The elite from the community wanted their ideas implemented.

HJ2: Schools do not have specialist teachers in subjects like Art and Design and Technology. It is really difficult to have 25 lessons per week. For example, Setswana has 4 periods. If a teacher has 7 classes Of 40 students, it is a hell lot of work.

TS1: Schools have lack of teachers or manpower. The infrastructure and material resources are not enough. There is a lot of increase in the intake.

TS2: There is lack of knowledgeable manpower (teachers). Lack of responsibility from stakeholders. There is lack of accountability, transport and finance.

TJ1: Schools have problems of lack of funds and infrastructure (classroom space). Staff always not enough. There are just too many students to handle. Too many subjects are introduced and teachers expect to teach more than one subject.

TJ2: Schools have problems when trying to decentralise as required.

PS1: Schools have problems of parents' failure to attend meetings.

PJ1: Schools have a problem of "I am the head." Heads are too protective conscious, having a fear of being exposed and loosing jobs. This is why they cannot share power and decentralise. Heads lack confidence in others. This is why they get a lot of pressure from the juniors. People are not allowed to participate in things like timetable preparation. The locals are still not taken as the able people. For example in computer, it is always assigned to foreigners.

## **7. The Current Problems Faced by the Interviewee/Stake holders**

This section is an effort to present the current problems faced by those interviewed and to establish as to whether their problems are any different from those faced by other stake holders. Problems at the urban areas may be different from those at the rural areas. This section will further explore as to whether it is the urban or rural areas, which are, faced more by such current problems.

### **7.1 CURRENTPROBLEMSFACEDBYINTERVIEWEESTAKEHOLDER**

HqO1: 'I have the powers but I still ask /request from the Ministry of Education.' I Have no authority to employ. There is problem of lack of resources.

HqO2: There is a problem of attitude. Officers are not willing to go to regions. Secondary Education department vacancies remain vacant for too long as they are Not very attractive. People have reluctance tendencies not to loose some power.

HqO3: There is lack of ownership by all stakeholders. There must be co-funding in education. There is lack of active involvement of parents and responsibilities by parents as expected.

HqO4: 'I have a worry that there is lack of quality in education, I feel it must be improved. We want to do a lot of things at one go and as quick enough as possible. So, I have a problem with that things are to be done.

CE01: There is lack of transport to cover the vast distances of the region. There is very little transport in the office. There are too many meetings at the headquarters, which I have to attend. This region has no enough personnel. The region is too wide with very few facilities.

CE02: More people should be sent to regions. Principal Education Officer posts should be coming to regions as regions are over loaded. There should be restructuring such that there is someone immediately after Chief Education Officer.

CE03: As a key stakeholder here, I lack support from headquarters. There is less decentralisation functions and empowerment. There is lack of personnel, resources (computers) and informed community.

CE04: There is lack of manpower and regions are wide. These regions should be divided into sub-regions. We cannot respond sufficiently to expectations of different councils. The size of the region is big and schools don't get the sufficient responses they are to get. Regional office is almost a mini-ministry and everything is just bundled for the region to workout. Regions are very much overloaded.

HS1: The curriculum doesn't fall under my supervision, but different departments. There are too many arms for the Ministry of Education, but not closely knowledgeable to what each other is doing. That is there is no co-ordination between departments.

HS2: As a school we are faced with lack of parental involvement because of distance that parents are at. Parents still feel the schools are there to do everything.

HJ1: As a school head I don't want to share power. If I have to share power I cannot control. "I am very hesitant". Teachers are resistant, as they don't want to be involved. Involving community to participate is a problem. For example in activities like sponsored walk or Prize giving events.

HJ2: There is a problem of repairs (constructional repairs). Staff houses and student dormitories need urgent repairs, but there are no enough funds. As for the constructional repairs, Boipelego Education Project is still in control. But nothing seems to be happening. I am very powerless to take Boipelego on course. Decentralisation is a new process, and depending on the issues, headquarters still handles most of them. Of late regions have been dealing with some issues.

TS1: As a teacher I have a problem with the number of children to be served. The teacher-student ratio is too high. For example, as a teacher counsellor I am expected to serve 300 students but now I deal with about a thousand (1000) students. Office accommodation is not enough. Resources in schools are centralised.

TS2: Salaries must be paired with qualification. Heads and Regional Education Officers must be empowered to handle salary issues. At schools we have problems of accommodation (residential and office).

TJ1: I have a problem of having to teach more than one subject. This makes it difficult to do remedial teaching. 'Yes', I get enough power when supervising (on duty). But, I have less power on students' discipline.

TJ2: I have a problem to know why we are in the system. There is no clarity and policy interpretation. For example, promotions, scarce skill qualifications and why there is salary difference between Junior Secondary and Senior Secondary teachers. The welfare of teachers is not treated the way it should. For example, health and accommodation.

PS1: As a parent representative (PTA-Chair) I have a problem of failure to attend meetings by PTA members. There should be more empowerment not only to the chairperson, but other officers. There is lack of empowerment on PTAs. There should, if possible, be a sitting allowance for PTA members to motivate members to attend meetings

PJ1: I have a problem that is caused by the confusion that is caused by the change from Cambridge Overseas school Certificate. International General certificate in Education. That is why some students go to private schools where there is value for money. Parents are being dispositioned in their children's discipline. That is why children end up failing. The children's acts and rights have dispositioned us. We have problems of dodging children.

## 7.2 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PROBLEMS FACED BY INTERVIEWEES AND OTHER KEY STAKE HOLDERS

HqO1: 'We have the same problems as we basically work together.'

HqO2: They are generally similar. For example transfer problems.



HqO3: "No" The problems that we all face are the same. Possibly there might be some differences in the questions of attitudes and perceptions.

HqO4: We generally have the same worry, as we all want to see quality education, and see decentralisation working. We are worried about the implementation.

CE01: 'yes, there is a lot of difference as the number of schools differs per region and the distances differ (between schools and regional offices). Water, Transport and accommodation (office and residential) problems differ.

CE02: The problems that I face and those faced by other stakeholders are basically the same. Locality may have some differences. For example sick people (HIV/Aids - people). Rural areas have difference in distance. Posting to rural areas is a problem. I only have some difference because of education pressures (In the urban area more people are the elite).

CE03: The problem that we face are generally the same, except on distance. CE04: Problems are generally the same. But communities are different. -41-

HS1: They are generally the same. The difference is only on the closeness or the distance between schools and service offices.

HS2: "No" There is no difference between problems faced by other stakeholders and those I face. The only difference may be that urban areas and main villages are within the near locality.

HJ1: The problems are more or less the same. The only difference is that, in Gaborone I get more information than those at the rural areas. For example I am better off because of the calibre of students, teachers and parents that I get. I think somehow my school gets more attention from the Ministry of Education than those outside.

HJ2: Problems can be the same. But there are some unique problems. In the area where my school is there is no construction sand (no river sand) which is good. They use the desert sand and buildings crack quickly. The distance between the school and region is a problem (340 Kilometres).

TS1: The teacher-student problem is the same. But, the only difference is that locality determines the speed of service.

TS2: Some of the problems are the same. The only difference is that in some areas, some schools are day while some boarding schools. Distance again is different. When it comes to promotions and further studies we get the same treat.

TJ1: Most of the problems that we face are the same.

TJ2: We are not faced with similar problems. The region that you are in counts a lot. The cost of living is different. People at the towns can purchase houses from Botswana Housing Corporation (BHC). But not in rural areas. They can even do part-time learning.

PS1: "I don't know if there are any differences"

PJ1: There are a lot of differences in problems that we face. For example, child discipline, probably a few and poor performance (results). People in rural areas are not in a position to operate because of illiteracy.

### 7.3 AREAS FACED MORE BY CURRENT PROBLEMS: URBAN OR RURAL

HqO1: Rural areas are faced with more problems than urban areas. For example, facilities and remoteness.

HqO2: Rural areas are faced with more problems such as resources and social amenities.

HqO3: Rural areas have more problems. For example mobilising resources is a problem in rural areas. But discipline worsens in urban areas because of development and advancement.

HqO4: Rural areas have more problems. There is lack of facilities and not many people would like to be in rural areas.

CE01: Rural areas have more problems because of accommodation (not enough), transport, personnel and untreated water.

CE02: Rural areas suffer more because of distance. The only problem felt in urban areas is the pressure from the enlightened people who demand for more accountability. People in rural areas feel more as part of the schools.

CE03: Rural areas because of distance between schools and regions. There is a problem of transfer refusals to go to rural areas. Rural areas suffer more due to lack of experienced teachers and personnel. Urban areas are faced with a problem of sick teachers and personnel (HIV/AIDS).

CE04: Urban areas have sophistication layers. Children problems are basically the same. Parents are more forceful in urban areas and are a problem. Enlightened parents are very participatory. Rural areas have posting and transfer problems, as people do not want to go to rural areas.

HS1: Rural areas face more problems. Urban areas are better off due to facilities.

HS2: Rural areas because of lack of infrastructure, communication and the element of parents. In urban areas, using too many things motivates students (e.g. television and good sides).

HJ1: Rural areas have more problems as community financial assistance lacks. Facilities are not available. There is a problem of culture (school and Community) that promotes learning.

HJ2: Rural areas suffer more, as some of the authorities don't even know where some of the schools are.

TS1: Rural areas have more problems. Some schools don't even have running water. Teachers at the rural areas lack exposure.

TS2: Rural areas are very far from the service centres. Regional Education offices have been established but they are still very few.

TJ1: Rural areas are faced with problems of lack of staff. The distance issue causes communication to take longer.

TJ2: Rural areas, as by the distance they are far from headquarters. The costs at the rural areas are very high. The distance is not cost effective (Time and money).

PS1: In the rural area facilities are very far away (possibly at the service centres). There is acute lack of facilities in the rural areas. The distance leaves much to be desired.

PJ1: Rural areas have transportation problems. Students come late in the mornings. There are more facilities in urban area than rural areas. Sometimes there are problems of phones and electricity. Schools using generators. There are more poverty stricken areas and families in rural world.

## **8. Vision and Way Forward for improvement.**

This categories intends to present interviewees' views as to what sort of problems do they think could be solved by the forms of decentralisation. To find out if competition for students by schools would solve some of the key problems. Enough would not be done if the category can fail to present the focus for the way forward for improvement in the decentralising Botswana education system, and what should actually happen. Impressions as to whether competition between public and private schools can provide solutions to key problems will be explored and presented.

### **8.1 PROBLEM SOLUTIONS BY THE FORMS OF DECENTRALISATION**

HqO1: Payment, promotions and upgrading could be done at the regions and schools. This would off-load headquarters. Inspectorate must stay at headquarters and far from schools. To avoid biases.

HqO2: Authority must be deconcentrated and services taken nearer to the people. This would reduce the workload at headquarters. Regions would be able to address issues at local level.

HqO3: Decentralisation would provide effective co-ordination and service delivery. Decentralisation would facilitate formative evaluation. It would relate education to the needs at the local level.

HqO4: If the forms of decentralisation could be applied, there will be efficiency in the system. It would remove hardships and inconveniences caused by distance and delays. They would bring development to regional areas and improve the life style.

CE01: Discipline cases would be handled on the spot quickly. Performance would be improved. There will be more empowerment at the regions.

CE02: The forms of decentralisation would make discipline of teachers and students easy. Teacher welfare will be improved. There will be provision of facilities and professional advisors at the regions.

CE03: Services will be nearer to the people and there will be speedy implementation of government policy. Local community will be informed about the education system. The issue of quality provision will be addressed at the regions.

CE04: There will be more staffing at the regions and teachers will easily be helped well. Regional offices and schools would mostly attend to teacher and student discipline. Teachers' progress and transfers would be done at the regions. The Regional Education Offices will be empowered to deal with head teachers' issues such as transfers and retirement processing.

HS1: The regulations on financial issues are rather too strict. If regions could be empowered then regions and schools would function better. Issues would be handled on the site. Staffing problems compounded by highly centralised system would be attended to easily. Grading of post is highly centralised. That is why post are slowly graded. At the moment it is difficult to recruit staff.

HS2: Decentralisation would take all stakeholders on board. The process would educate people. Training at the regions would be easy. Regions would be provided with infrastructure.

HJ1: At the moment training of teachers is left to the colleges. Schools must be involved to provide in- service. Decentralisation would put in place staff development policies at the regions. And some orientation during the training. Finance regulations need to be loosened to allow regions to operate. At the moment there is a lot of restrictions on material in general.

HJ2: The forms of decentralisation would allow smooth running of the schools if fully implemented.

TS1: If more power is devolved to the regions, regions devolving more power to schools, and heads devolving more power to the heads of department then to the teachers, this would put more power on collective responsibilities.

TS2: At the moment there is lack of expertise at the regions, if decentralised the expertise would be in place at the regions and more training would be necessary. This would bring more offices closer to the remote areas. Communication would be made easy.

TJ1: Heads can deal with staff employment. Students discipline issues would be dealt with faster rather than having to refer to the Permanent Secretary. Finance management and heads and regions can easily handle promotions. Class allocations and/or student-teacher ratios must be left to schools and regions.

TJ2: Decentralisation forms could solve problems of lack of teachers in some regions. Regions could communicate on such issues. It would make it easy for regions to know teachers at their schools. Processing of promotions, further studies and transfers would be done with knowledge. Computerisation at the regions would just offset the manual service.

PS1: At least we would have some agreement and vision. Things would reach their destinations

PJ1: Decentralisation would allow for the building of effective offices at the regions. The forms may remove problems of long process of providing services. Responses will be faster. Delays will be avoided. All the necessary resources that are at the headquarters will be made available at the regions to handle issues.

## 8.2 COMPETITION FOR STUDENTS BY SCHOOLS

HqO1: This would improve productivity if there were criteria used.

HqO2: 'No'. This would not solve any problems, as there are many factors involved such as boarding facilities (mostly available in rural areas). As we are providing the National Curriculum, schools do vary. Schools do not offer same optional subjects.

HqO3: 'No.' The issue of admissions still has to be centralised as we have not reached the stage for schools to compete for students both equally in urban and rural areas. -47-

HqO4: 'No'. It would be unfair to rural areas, as facilities are not equitably available in urban and rural areas. There are more facilities in urban schools. We still do not have enough schools in some regions to compete. 'We want uniformity'.

CE01: 'No.' Competition for students can not work anywhere, both in urban and rural areas. Parental involvement that we want will cease. Some schools will be overcrowded and others not. It is however, possible that performance will rise.

CE02: 'Not in our present set-up'. The current way of admissions must be maintained. It may possibly work only if we change the current management of schools to business like type.

CE03: 'No'. This can create problems of overcrowding due to preferences, and some schools would remain empty. We have the National Curriculum problem that has to work across the board. Some schools would be getting the best students. Most affected schools would be the ones at the rural areas.

CE04: 'No'. That would cause a lot of problems, as some schools would be getting the best. The catchment area or zoning system used for admissions is the best at the moment. It only needs to be improved.

HS1: Sometimes students are not serious because they are just absorbed/admitted (in disciplined). They know they don't have to fight for places. Possibly the performance of schools and students can improve.

HS2: 'No'. Some schools would suffer. This would create the problem of poor attitude towards schools at the rural areas, and there will be great mobility from rural areas to urban areas. Facilities are not equitably provided.

HJ1: Competition would not solve some of the problems. If regional areas are not of the same standard then problems will still be there. Some schools will be disadvantaged. Teacher motivation in urban areas is better off.

HJ2: It would be bad to some schools. Some schools are very badly situated. Some schools would be over-crowded. Rural area would be badly affected. Some students would not be wanted by any school.

TS1: 'Yes', admission based on competition will raise standards. The school curriculum and performance will improve. Students will know schools, as schools standards will not be equal. There will be no difference on urban and rural area. No, catchment area will pose problems because it determines performance of Junior and senior schools.

TS2: 'Yes' to some extent competition for students by schools can solve some problems. 'No' because of distance that some of the schools are at. Again the distance hinders parents to get involved. Competition can possibly apply to both urban and rural areas.

TJ1: 'Partly yes'. But this can work more in urban and less rural areas.

PS1: 'No' competition for students cannot work. The same applies to urban and rural areas.

PJ1: 'No', it isn't easy. It depends on who is in the urban or rural area. The policy now is some schools have boarding facilities some schools do not have. Some schools will be overcrowded. Choice can be a problem, unless if there were full boarding facilities at all schools.

### **8.3 WAY FORWARD FOR IMPROVEMENT IN DECENTRALISING BOTSWANA EDUCATION SYSTEM**

HqO1: People should change their attitude and support the process. More resources should be provided.

HqO2: With a big issue like decentralisation there is need for sensitisation of all stakeholders. Accommodation, resources and transport should be made available. There should be good maintenance of student discipline at the regions. Even expulsion should go to regions.

HqO3: Decentralisation should be an on going process. All operations should go to the regions, and headquarters can remain with policy matters such as national standards.

HqO4: Headquarters could only monitor. There is still sufficient room to operate at the regions.

CE01: "Regions should be empowered to run schools."

CE02: The education system needs to be fully decentralised. Regional Education Offices can serve as mini-Ministries of Education.

CE03: We must further decentralise to regions. The regions under the manning of the Chief Education Officer could handle things like transfer, promotions of teachers and heads, together with expulsion of students.

CE04: Headquarters could deal with policy matters. Regional Education offices could feed the Headquarters with information for modification of policy. Headquarters could remain with co-ordination matters. Regional Education Offices must be empowered to implement policy.

HS1: Regions need to be fully staffed. Schools should do recruitment of teachers. More empowerment to schools on matters related to teachers, students, finance and resource management.

HS2: 'Yes' we need to decentralise more. These should move more infrastructures at the regions and qualified personnel. To retain the personnel there must be attractive salaries. Facilities and accommodation (residential and office) must be made available at the regions.

HJ1: Head need more power on discipline issues (teachers and students). Curriculum should not be totally national. Some aspect in the curriculum should be left to schools. School should decide o the facilities they need.

HJ2: Once decentralisation is in full phase it may work. But, it is still premature to evaluate the process.

TS1: "Policy makers must follow-up their policies" (do as they say). They must follow the set strategies. Performance evaluation lacks. We only wait for the results.

TS2: if fully decentralised, there could be some improvement. Confirmation, nomination for further studies, promotion and discipline should come to the regions and schools. There should be computerisation of all information.

TJ1: Let us have more done than said. Give decentralisation one more try. Promotions should be handled at the schools and regions, rather than to follow lengthy steps to headquarters.

TJ2: We mind find the personnel to put things in practice in the system (at the regions, headquarters, and schools). Equipment in the offices must be made available. For example, the Regional Education Offices for the Southern region is operating in the private premises.

PS1:'We want as parents to have a share in the education system.

PJ1: The current system is fine. Heads could be given some powers to move things around. In other words flexibility for schools to use resources as they see fit. For example, construction of more classrooms and houses.

#### 8.4 COMPETITION BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

HqO1: 'Yes' competition can provide solutions, provided schools get involved in productivity.

HqO2: Yes, provided the ground is level for public schools and private schools. Private schools can be involved if the ground is level.

HqO3: Private schools have a short history. At the moment private schools only compliment public schools. 'No', competition can not work.

HqO4: The ground for competition between public schools and private schools is not level. Facilities are not the same.

CE01: We all follow the prescribed programme. For example, the national examinations. The ground is not level for competition at the moment.

CE02: With the present set-up, no. Private schools lack focus on the educational needs. For example, Maruapula, and Legae schools are the elite type. Currently competition cannot work.

CE03: Competition is a healthy exercise. We can learn from each other. But, at the moment it is almost impossible because the ground is not level (admission type).

CE04: Private schools show public schools direction. Some private schools are just there for money. At the moment competition between the two cannot work.

HS1: Some problems can be solved. If fees are introduced, parents can participate more in student learning (get concerned).

HS2: In Botswana most private schools are for the low achievers. Private schools are not enough to give public schools some competition. There is no equity in the provision of facilities. Government should provide private schools with some subsidies (monitoring exercises).

HJ1: 'No' Private schools are not particularly concerned with universal access to education. They all go for the cream in terms of ability and money.

HJ2: This would have no effect at the moment. Most schools are almost public. Private schools are very limited.

TS1: 'Yes', competition raises standards. Unfortunately the completion ground here is not level for private schools. There are very few good private schools. 'No', because private schools are not enough.

TS2: 'Yes', it can solve problems of overcrowding. In some areas it cannot work.

TJ1: 'Yes'. This can reduce congestion at public schools. The quality of teaching will improve and standards will rise.



TJ2: Yes competition between the two can provide solutions to some extent. It can create focus. The system will be put in place and improved. Comparison will be there. People will be aiming for the best. This will improve quality.

PS1: 'No it cannot help us at the moment'. It cannot work.

PJ1: Yes, some parents send children to private schools because of trained teachers at the private schools. Private schools have specific training (special needs cases). Teachers in public schools concentrate on the normal students and leave behind the slow learners/retarded / playful ones. Schools will have pressure to aim for higher performance / results.

## **9. Limitations / 'Downside' of such Reforms**

This category is an attempt to present the feeling on the interviewees as to whether there are any limitations and/or 'downside' of decentralisation reforms. And to explore if it is possible to have absolute decentralisation in Botswana education system.

### **9.1 LIMITATIONS / 'DOWNSIDE'**

HqO1: There are limitations because accountability is very high. As for the downside of the reforms, they can be abuse of power and lack of uniformity.

HqO2: The progression of officers is condemned to regions. Being at the regions should not disadvantage officers, there may be nepotism as officers and seniors at the regions and schools will know teachers.

HqO3: There is need for judicious balance between decentralisation and centralisation. Headquarters must remain with some functions. All stakeholders must understand their duty ad responsibilities.

HqO4: The reforms have limitations because of lack of manpower. As for downside, some people like power (human element and flavour).

CE01: There are limitations because of lack of manpower and transport.

CE02: There should be provision of enough manpower. We have limitations due to strict reductions concerning manpower ceiling, and recruitment. The budget limitations are a major constrain in the reforms. Decentralisation proves/reforms should not be isolated. They must move with other government innovations.

CE03: Decentralisation is an expensive project because it needs resources. If we are not careful we might get a disorganised education system. We Know each other and is may stand as a downside due to possibility of corrupt practices or personal hatred.

CE04: There might be lack of uniformity due to variations according to regions. Some regions are better staffed and have more facilities. Some Regional Education Offices are stronger. We are still grappling with operational problems.

HS1: Reforms have staffing limitations. People still hold on to power such that power is not released. Some people have lack of trust and still believing they can perform much well. Decentralisation reform is also facing some resistance.

HS2: Ministry of Education has complete control. This pose limitations. This Ministry should consult with Ministry of Finance to release unrestricted funds. On Finance, Ministry of Education has to account to other ministries and some people are not conversant with what should go on.

HJ1: Cross fertilisation of ideas is limited at national level. Everyone focuses on his/her area of management. Standards are very much affected by those limitations. Instead of problems being national they get diversified and treated differently.

HJ2: There are limitations because it depends on how much the Chief Education Officer is empowered. Heads are not having enough power on discipline cases for both staff and students. They still have to refer cases. Teachers know that head teachers are toothless.

TS1: The reforms are limited by funding. There should be identification of resources (human and material resources). In terms of the curriculum, there is now a need for more student-centredness.

TSP:- There should be more offices, funds and personnel at the schools and regions.

TJ1: In terms of promotions, some people may never get those because of favouritism/nepotism as a result of decentralisation. Again there is a possibility of power being abused. There is lack of staff development because some people are holding too much on to power and not sharing.

TJ2: As teachers know the route is longer. Processing of things is now taking a longer period of time. For example, Senior Grade II promotions are to go through the head, then the Regional Education Officer and later to the headquarters. The authorities along this long line have to confirm.

PS1: There are limitations because decentralisation is very difficult to implement the process because of regulations. The process still demands referrals to headquarters on cases such as student discipline.

PJ1: We welcome the change to give people responsibilities. But, how many cans we do? Facilities are not at their disposal. There is lack of funds and we always opt for what was not planned. The process is met with the complexities of the dynamic society. The volume of work is not sufficient to warrant for more funds. There should be qualifications to get personnel criteria.

## 9.2 ABSOLUTE DECENTRALISATION IN BOTSWANA EDUCATION SYSTEM

HqO1: Some functions still have to be at headquarters, like policy making and co-ordination of policy.

HqO2: 'No'. Basically we are a small system and we need uniformity.

HqO3: 'No' we cannot fully decentralise as a matter of course. Headquarters has to remain with certain functions mainly policy issues.

HqO4: 'No'. Headquarters has to keep the policy issues, especially monitoring.

CE01: We cannot have absolute decentralisation due to equity (horizontal). There is need for same type of education and that is way we offer the national curriculum. Centralised programmes offer common curriculum and syllabi.

CE02: 'No'. Education policy must serve the political and national interest of the people and has to be centrally controlled. However, the curriculum can be diverted.

CE03: 'No'. We need some commonality in certain areas in the system. We have co-ordinated activities and equity (national formula must apply).

CE04: 'No', there must be policy co-ordination; to avoid each region operating differently. 'No'. Because there must be uniformity in the education system, and consistency, such that we cope with the global wave. We need to keep some aspects centralised. Social problems differ (for example roads). Some areas need to be picked and put into development phase.

HS1: We should only go for some of decentralisation. It is still easy to decentralise fully. Over the years we should reach the destination.

HS2: "No, I don't think so". We need to keep monitoring centralised for the sake of uniformity. We are still developing the curriculum has to be national. The centre is still fumbling, so we cannot fully move into another phase of development.

HJ1: 'No'. Some areas must be kept centralised for the sake of quality and national interest. For the concept of globalisation, we need to meet the standards (international standards). Again for the purposes of ethical issues in education.

HJ2: 'No', we cannot decentralise fully because of uniformity. We must keep the national curriculum.

TS1: 'No', we cannot fully decentralise due to population limitations. For example regions cannot adopt their own curriculum.

TS2: 'No', Headquarters still has to regulate some areas because of globalisation. Curriculum should be centralised. We cannot, fully decentralise because of national standards, uniformity and equity.

TJ1: 'No, no man is an island'. Some of the headquarters services are still crucial and needed. For example expulsion, headquarters has to step in, in case of need. Some aspects of the curriculum should remain centralised.

TJ2: It is highly possible to decentralise fully, if infrastructure and qualified personnel are made available. "We are eager to work", if everything can be decentralised.

PS1: 'No', because of lack of elite parents who may not cope with their duties in some areas.

PJ1: 'No', we need the central government to operate on certain aspects of the education system. However, autonomy is needed in certain aspects. Botswana is young population and development wise. So, we cannot have absolute decentralisation. Some issues still have to be referred to the central office. With the curriculum, only where necessary, because we are still developing.

## APPENDIX 7 EXAMPLES OF RESPONSES TO THE SCENARIOS

### SCENARIOS: DATA PRESENTATION

Education in Botswana is going through a decentralisation process. Last July/August I undertook a round of interviews on this process. From the analysis of this data several issues surfaced as prominent in the concerns of those interviewed: funding, provision, governance, regulation, discipline, and human resources. These issues gave rise to three possible ways (scenarios) as to how decentralisation could further develop. It is hoped that you will be able to comment on which of the three scenarios below you consider the most desirable (your ideal) and which you think is the most practical. You may have other ideas as to the scenario you think may be the most desirable (ideal) and/or most practical. It would be most helpful if you could comment on these three scenarios and the various elements such as funding, provision etc within them. And, to briefly describe your own scenario if it differs from one of these. Finally if you could comment on any key element you think has been left out of these three scenarios that would be appreciated. I would like to come to interview you about your views about these scenarios for about 20-30 minutes.

#### Scenario: One

##### 7. Funding

The current education funding or free education in Botswana has developed a dependency syndrome or attitude and made the Self-reliance National principle disappears. Therefore there is need for devolution of funding to schools and regions, as they have full local knowledge. This arrangement will create consumer knowledge, motivate parents, and they will be effectively involved in the learning process, and students will be more responsible. Schools and regions will know their teachers, and will best be able to handle issues of teachers' salaries. That is, all funding will be by parental payment of fees, with the exception of scholarships for poor able students. Parents can choose where they send their children to school.

Comments: Written on the pro formas and During the interviews

HqO1: A good idea generally, but has implication on resources. There would be need to trained officers to handle this job at regional and school level. The idea is very desirable, but we are not having resources to handle that.

HqO2: My opinion is that free education has in some ways contributed to disappearance of self-help principle. Even students in schools have no sense of ownership, resulting in undesirable culture of vandalism. Parental payment of fees is desirable. Most parents can pay fees.

HqO3: The question of cost sharing / recovery is a matter that the Minister is presently addressing in Kgotla meetings. Certainly it is to be accepted that the present policy of free education is no longer sustainable. It negates the spirit of Self-reliance, and certainly parents no longer appreciate their role in terms of complementing government efforts. However, the idea is not that government should hand-over everything to the parents. Therefore, not all funding will come from parents.

HqO4:

CEO1: The idea of school fees is desirable for many reasons including making people accountable and responsible. This is what we want, and it can be practised.

CEO2: While I agree that this will solicit parents' interest in the education of their children, I still contend that the time might not be ideal for parents to choose which school their children attend, because of limited number of schools in most regions. The idea is feasible, but not practical at the moment.

CEO3: Ideally it is good thing to have parents paying fees, but unfortunately most parents cannot afford the fees. Life in Botswana has since become expensive, and some families fail to afford the basic necessities. Most parents can not afford to pay fees. For example, even payment of development levy has been difficult. Therefore this not possible and can not be practised.

CEO4: I agree that the way free education has been implemented has caused problems. However, the cost sharing idea seeks to address some problems. Further, fees may not be enough to fund all educational activities. Other implications would be purchasing of equipment for processing, and payment of additional staff. However, the idea is desirable and practicable. In any case, education was paid for before. May be some aid may come from government.

HS1: Very few parents can afford to pay the full cost of education. Government will still have to pay large amount of those that cannot pay, and therefore continue to be the major stakeholder. Therefore, it is not possible to operate in this way. However, cost sharing is possible.

HS2: I totally subscribe to the paying of fees or cost-sharing. Parents would be more involved in the education of their children. This very possible because, Botswana are economically better than before.

HJ1: If wholly funded by parents, they would in a way dictate and thus have complete control over the head of school. Only a few can wholly afford. This is not possible for the majority. The handling and payment of teachers' salaries by regions and schools through payment of fees is not possible.

HJ2: Government should pay salaries through regions or schools so that each school hires its own teachers who will feel committed to that job. The school can also dismiss anyone who is not productive enough. But, at the moment the idea above is not possible, but in future it is very possible (about two years time). For now it could be done in conjunction with experienced headteachers.

TS1: Some aspects should best be left for central funding particularly salaries. Schools can not afford to pay salaries, and this needs to be left to headquarters. If schools pay, inequality may be a problem. Cost sharing is very possible.

TS2: It is true since, by involving parents by way of making them pay part or even all of students' fees will make them feel responsible. It will change their attitude. Investment is a 50 / 50 thing. If the majority can change then this can be practical.

TJ1: Paying of school fees by parents would help instil a sense of responsibility both in parents and children. Parents would find a need to take a more active part in their children's educational needs. Students will take well care of school facilities knowing that they bear the cost of repairing or replacing lost books. This is most desirable. The students will be even more responsible. This is very possible and practical.

TJ2: I completely agree with the above scenario idea. It is a great concern that the National Principle of Self-reliance is disappearing and negligence of students and parents towards education is quite high because they do not loose anything. It is highly possible to operate in this way. Parents can pay fees, as they are not very poor per say.

PS1: Yes, in scenario one, the funding by parents to send their children to school can motivate parents and students to take education seriously. This is economically possible, but still some people need help through scholarships.

PJ1: This option may call for full payment of fees by parents. This would not be sustainable because most parents cannot afford even those who are not poor. Parental involvement in children's learning process is not guaranteed. Most parents cannot afford school fees. They are used to free education. However, some parents can afford, and government can cover those who are unable to pay through bursaries. This idea is feasible and practical.

## *2. Provision (Teachers and Curriculum)*

The Botswana education system has centralised provision of a National Curriculum. Schools follow the centrally prescribed syllabi on what is to be taught to cater for all. But, there is need for diversity through decentralisation to allow schools to determine what is taught, and how the teaching can best be applied. School heads and teachers must be empowered to create their own curriculum according to local needs and knowledge. Subjects such as agriculture could be approached differently because different regions have different needs and limitations. Schools and regions should handle teacher- student ratios (class sizes) not headquarters.

### *Comments: Before and During the interviews:*

HqO1: This idea assumes that the human resources is available and adequate. There is still shortage of teachers in schools let alone the experienced ones who can handle curriculum. For now we cannot operate in this way. We do not have experienced and qualified people to do the job.

HqO2: Botswana education system is relatively small which is developing quite fast. In view of this it is prudent to use the resources economically, by centralising the curriculum and also determining teacher-student ratios, because reduction of this has serious implications on resources. For example facilities, teachers, etceteras. We need centralised curriculum to operate for purposes of uniformity and economic reasons. So, this idea is not feasible and practicable.

HqO3: Certainly decentralisation would promote curriculum diversification in terms of meeting local variations. However, the idea should not be schools to determine their separate curriculum 'per se' but to promote local initiative variation and contextual specifics. There would still be need for guidelines from the central level on matters to do with broad specifications, class sizes etc. It should be pointed out that the ministry has already embarked upon decentralisation on an incremental / evolutionary manner.

CEO1: The curriculum can not be left to schools as yet. The risk with this is that standards may be compromised and valuation may become difficult. The system has centralised provision of a National Curriculum. This is what is happening. But the curriculum cannot be decentralised and left to schools alone. The reason is same as the one given above.

CEO2: At the moment there is no monitoring mechanism to ensure uniformity and standards in a system of diversified curriculum where schools determine what is taught. This type of diversification may impact negatively in rural areas. Regions do not generate income but rely wholly on government grant. For Botswana at the moment we should maintain the central curriculum to ensure uniformity and standards.

CEO3: Provision of curriculum, which is locally based, is a good thing, but it requires professionally trained curriculum officers to monitor such a curricula. Currently we have shortage of such manpower even in a centralised system. Very possible for them to have to create their own curriculum, but there is problem of experienced professionals to guide the process and maintain equity.

CEO4: Diversity would result in different educational systems within one system. That is, each region following its own model. It would be difficult to monitor and ensure equity. This idea is not desirable. We need centralised system for the sake of uniformity and monitoring.

HS1: It is too early to go into such form of decentralisation. Equity will not be achieved. Schools cannot create their own curriculum. The National Curriculum is crucial. Partially decentralisation may be fine to absorb those areas where there are differences.

HS2: This would, in addition, enhance National unity by satisfying all regions by recognising each people's uniqueness. The curriculum should be very diverse to recognise cultural differences, language issues, tourism issues and locality.

HJ1: The machinery in place does not allow for this as regions would require officers in the regions to have expertise in determining what is relevant. Schools and teachers are not ready and mature to know what is needed and what is not. 'Not now, may be in future.

HJ2: I foresee a problem with the national examinations if schools teach what they want themselves. Problem of uniformity and national standards will arise. I would recommend decentralisation on National curriculum. There should be a national frame. Therefore the idea is not practical.



TS1: It will be a workable idea if districts were economically self-supporting. That is if districts were “states”. If regions were like states where they could raise revenue. We are not ready to have a regionalised curriculum. Botswana is small population wise.

TS2: On curriculum, it is important for students to know much about the country, so that once they finish school they could work anywhere without having been disadvantaged by the curriculum (shallowness). On teacher-student ratio I agree wholeheartedly.

TJ1: The student ratio contributes a lot to student performance hence there is a need to reassess the current situation in schools to allow teachers to do their work efficiently. This is what we want, and it is practically possible. But, on curriculum, we would be stretched to far. We need uniformity in the curriculum.

TJ2: This is realistic, it should happen as mentioned. A child in kgalagadi made to compete with a child in urban areas is not fair at all. Yes, schools should determine their teaching loads based on class size. It is unfair to compare teachers when one is having a 30 students class and the other one having a 42 students class. I totally agree with the above. It is possible in some areas in terms of subjects. Subjects are different, may be looked at based on local needs But each school cannot have its own curriculum. We need to keep the National curriculum.

PS1: That is true, and parents should be consulted where possible. Central government can do the allocation to provide uniformity and standards. But, it may only be possible if body (board), committee is consult.

PJ1: Gradual decentralisation is important as sudden change may create problems. Uniformity is generally accepted. Decentralisation cannot fully be done now. But we wish to rich these in future. It should be done with caution. Curriculum must not be decentralised because we need uniformity and certain components must be the same.

### *3. Governance (Authority and Decision-making)*

Decentralisation removes certain duties from headquarters to the schools, and empowers all stakeholders to make decisions at grass root level. It is assumed that these stakeholders (headteachers, community of teachers, and other stakeholders) will have sufficient expertise to offer services, and have enough autonomy to operate within the confines of the market.

#### *Comments: Before and During the interviews:*

HqO1: Currently, it is only those areas where it is believed there is sufficient expertise that are decentralised. This is very desirable. But there must be people to do the job.

HqO2: Yes, to some extent decentralisation empowers regions to make decisions at local levels and has some advantage such as expediting certain issues which will usually take along time to sort out in a centralised system that we are moving away form. This most desirable and we are moving in this direction already.

HqO3: Decentralisation in Botswana should not imply outright regional autonomy. Otherwise the system should, then lose the overall national context. Certainly decentralisation does remove certain duties from headquarters in the spirit of local empowerment. However, it presupposes availability of appropriately equipped personnel who can take the initiative at the local level.

CEO1: Decentralisation is taking services nearer to the schools but does necessarily empower stakeholders. Regions will be given powers, which implies deconcentration.

CEO2: Yes, they have autonomy, so far as that autonomy does not cut across legislation, directives and procedures. This is what is happening. Procedures should be followed. At the moment we have two types of communities (rural and urban) which have which have differences in terms of expertise, economy, and the level of education.

CEO3: That is basically the essence of decentralisation, giving power to those in the regions to make decisions, so as to timelessly deliver service to the community. This is very possible and practical. Heads and Regional Education Officers are fine, but parent communities are not well educated to make good decisions in education, even the Boards of governors.

CEO4: Yes and further training will be based on the needs of individuals as identified in their services. This is desirable and we are gradually practising this. Our schools attract.

HS1: Governance must be decentralised to bring service to the users. After 35 years of independence stakeholders should be ready to assume the responsibility. This is practically possible. In some cases people have no choice to follow the market system.

HS2: It also enhances the feeling of ownership. A sense of ownership is derived to provide services. It is very feasible to operate in this way.

HJ1: While these will have the expertise, what regions require at the same time we should not be oblivious of disparities in standards that are likely. This would create problems of inequity. Stakeholders are really not ready to take education over the bridge.

HJ2: It would include Board of governors. Again they (stakeholders) should know what to look for. They should be experienced educationists. At the moment this is not possible. The quality of stakeholders such as governors is questionable. The standard of education they have can not help them understand what education needs.

TS1: It makes service delivery quick and appropriate. It is very possible to operate in this way provided there is expertise. Communities are not ready. May be in urban areas.

TS2: It is true on the issue mentioned above. It is very possible. Stakeholders have more local knowledge.

TJ1: Yes, other stakeholders like BoGs and PTAs need to be more involved in making sure the school provides quality education. This is desirable, very practical. Stakeholders can make good decisions.

TJ2: This is one step that I would like to see functioning. Heads should have more powers and knowledge to deal with situations. I appreciate decentralisation because it minimises costs and it shortens steps of measures. This is practically possible. Stakeholders are not given enough. With sufficient inservice things could happen.

PS1: Yes, this can be a good idea. Very possible to be applied by looking at the market demands.

PJ1: Decentralisation should ensure availability of relevant expertise. We wish to operate in this way provided we have available expertise.

#### *4. Regulation (Accountability and Control)*

Education control in Botswana is more centralised as the control is bench-marked by the Education Act and Code of Regulations, and this makes headquarters more accountable than schools. But conditions in Botswana need a devolved system that will make schools more accountable by infusing the market mechanism whereby good schools attract students, and if not, they close down. Schools will aim for quality results, and teachers will be motivated to perform and get profit for doing a good job, and having the fear of losing jobs if they do not perform. Parents and students will choose schools that offer quality education. School quality will be determined by their examination results.

#### *Comments: Before and During the interviews:*

HqO1: This is indeed desirable. The little decentralisation that has so far been achieved is leading to the given scenario. This is very desirable. Bu, we cannot decentralise accountability because we do not have enough people.

Currently education is still very centralised especially at secondary school levels. We are gradually moving towards decentralisation albeit limited resources at our disposal. We need fully-fledged regions in order to carry out certain services at either school or regional level. This desirable and practical, and to some extent we are there.

HqO3: Whist there is still considerable central control in the Botswana education system, it should be stressed that there are areas for which the schools are held directly accountable and with increased decentralisation, and this level of accountability should increase. However, for now especially at secondary there is still limited opportunity for parents to choose schools. However, generally parents would still want to have their children enrolled in "good schools".

CEO1: If we privatise this will happen. But, if we do not privatise, it will not happen. I think that at the moment we cannot privatise.

CEO2: The situation of infusing the market mechanism is not yet relevant to our developing needs. The less privileged citizens are bound to be mostly affected by a situation such as this one. At the present time it is not feasible and we cannot put this into practice. "Even in towns".

CEO3: Regulations, which are currently in place, were made for a centralised system and it is time they are reviewed so as to conform to a decentralised structure. The Education Act and Code of Regulation do not conform to the decentralisation structures. The closing of non-performing schools is not possible.

CEO4: Public services are taken to where people are. People will still have to be at a school nearest to them. If there are several there, then they choose the best. This is what is desirable. There is a possibility of it to work in this way. At the moment we cannot close down schools. That will be very expensive. We are still trying to expand.

HS1: Where 100% of students can be admitted this is possible. But, at senior schools where only about 50% get admitted, this will not work. Looking at the nearness only mostly does admission. Schools cannot close down. At the moment very few could choose schools. But, choice has always been allowed.

HS2: I fully subscribe to decentralisation. It could foster competition and the non-performers would fall by the wayside. No child will go to a failing school. This is very feasible especially on competition. But for now it is not possible to practice, may be in future.

HJ1: If schools were to follow this model, teachers would take their work more seriously knowing that failure might lead to their lose of job. This is very possible and achievable.

HJ2: The problem will be that some schools will close down as stated. This stage is too early for us. However, schools can admit their own students, set their own acceptable grades. We do not have enough schools. So, closing down schools is not possible. They are already choosing schools through quality results by means of transfer options.

TS1: "Educating an individual is like hunting for ivory, once you find the ivory, you also find attached an elephant". An individual is not educated in isolation, but, the community as well. Practically we can not close schools. Parents should always be free to choose schools. Catchment area admission should be revisited to own up for choice.

TS2: In an ideal situation, all schools operate under the same conditions such as available resources, then I would agree totally with the above paragraph. Some schools will be disadvantaged because of the locality. So, this not practical.

TJ1: Teachers would really be pushed to work hard. This idea is desirable. But, it is not really possible to close schools and loose teachers. We still need more schools at the moment.

TJ2: "A house becomes strong and beautiful if it started and finished by one constructor, schools just like families should be so". Operating through instructions derails initiatives. I agree with the above idea. Closing down of schools is possible. Teachers should loose jobs if they do not perform. This is very desirable, but not possible now because of staff shortages. I am very if quality is determined through examinations.

PS1: I support the idea. Closing down schools is possible, but admission problem will emerge.

PJ1: Schools should be empowered to be more accountable. Jobs should not be taken for granted. Schools should be more accountable to community, but Ministry of Education should then follow the transition.

### *5. Discipline*

Schools not headquarters must handle teacher and student discipline. Governors need more power on teacher discipline. Discipline cases are still referred to headquarters in Botswana and this causes delays. Some students graduate before hearing the final verdict on their cases. Teachers' movement also makes it difficult to handle discipline case. Schools and regions have full knowledge of students and staff and could handle cases on the spot faster.

#### *Comments: Before and During the interviews:*

HqO1: This is quite the case in my view. This practice / approach is currently been addressed by Ministry of Education. We need this, and we are practising this idea. We can not have enough lawyers to handle discipline cases. But we would like to have them. We have committees at schools, but a regional disciplinary committee would be an ideal thing.

HqO2: Yes, schools should be able to handle discipline cases especially relating to students. As it is now schools do not augur very well for the maintenance of discipline at school level. Over centralisation of disciplinary cases results in delays. This is what we want, and it can be practised. The Act need to be amended on aspects of discipline to give schools and regions more power. Schools should have disciplinary committees. There is need for education legal advisor at regions to work with the management team or committee.

HqO3: I agree, decentralisation should facilitate more involvement of teachers in handling teachers and students discipline cases. But, it should be remembered that there would be need for the central level to set general control guidelines. In fact, presently the situation is such that there are certain disciplinary cases that come directly into the jurisdiction of the school administration or management.

CEO1: "Justice delayed is justice denied". This is desirable and practical. There should be education legal advisor at the regions.

CEO2: At the moment a sizeable portion of students discipline is at schools and regions. However, the Acts of Parliament still restrict teacher discipline to Teaching Service Management (department in headquarters). Some discipline cases are handled at schools and regions except serious cases like expulsion. But, lawyers and courts should not run schools. We do not need education legal advisors, but we need strong lawyer at the Ministry of Education.

CEO3: Students discipline should end at school level and teacher discipline at the office of the Chief Education Officer (regions) for justice to be seen to be done. The idea is

very possible and desirable. Head teachers and regional officers should be trained on discipline procedures. There is need for legal education advisor and disciplinary board or committee at the regions.

CEO4: This is ideal and should be implemented as soon as possible. It requires the review of the Education Act and Regulations (all statutory instruments) even the Teaching Service Act. The idea is desirable and can be practised. There is a need for legal advisor at the regions, and committees at the school level, but not at regions.

HS1: I agree with this idea. The school is often seen as a toothless bulldog. This is an ideal situation and it is very possible to be practised. The education legal advisors should be at the regions to assist all stakeholders on discipline matters. Perhaps, even a disciplinary board.

HS2: Disciplinary measures would be taken promptly, thereby enhancing productivity. Discipline is easier on the ground than taken any other further. Parents will be involved. There will be checks and balances. But it could be difficult in some cases.

HJ1: This would empower schools to take appropriate decision in good time. This would avoid delay. It is very possible and can make things easy. There is need for legal advisors and boards in the regions to facilitate this idea.

HJ2: Yes, especially student discipline if handled at school level will help the whole student discipline. Teacher discipline should be the regional issue. At The moment the idea is not possible. There is need for legal representation at the regions to advice all stakeholders on education. We have not allowed growing up to facilitate progression from teacher to head to chief education officer. There may be a need for discipline committees.

TS1: This will be a welcomed idea and will empower on site administrators. The idea is very possible and it should involve counsellors, social workers, and legal advisors. It could be possible to have disciplinary committee / board.

TS2: I agree with the above part on discipline. As schools, even regions given the mandate with capable people who are different to those at the headquarters, who can discipline students and teachers. Some body or board would be necessary to handle cases. Legal representative / advisor would be needed. The idea is very feasible.

TJ1: Decentralisation would definitely help in such cases. It would also help in solving cases quickly. The idea is very desirable and very practical. It is high time we have legal advisors at regions.

TJ2: AS I indicated, heads should have powers, knowledge and skills to deal with issues without much referral. This is one part that needs quick attention for the sake of time. I really agree with this. It is very possible. I wish it could happen this way. We need regional advisor. There should be schools disciplinary committee and regional disciplinary committee.

PS1: This is a good idea. Discipline boards and committees in place will make it possible. Knowledge of locals could create corruption, but corruption will always be there. Even the Kgotla could be use to settle cases here.

PJ1: Very exceptional cases of discipline should be referred to headquarters for advice. We wish this could happen, as it is very feasible and practical. There is need for legal advisors at the regions to support this.

#### *6. Human Resources (Manpower)*

The Ministry of Education does not have enough manpower at headquarters, regions and schools to cope with expansion in the system as well as the decentralisation process. This has contributed to a lack of monitoring mechanisms and co-ordination structures. Posts remain unfilled for a long time and there is always a danger of early appointment of unqualified, inexperienced, and less knowledgeable staff, especially at the posts of heads and heads of departments. Schools should determine teachers' conditions of work and offer higher salaries as incentives where there is a shortage of teachers.

#### *Comments: Before and During the interviews:*

HqO1: I do not believe that our schools are so far in a position to handle conditions of service for teachers. This is a very big job that needs human resources and the appropriate expertise. At the moment we do not have enough people. The idea is good. Salaries depend on where the money is coming from. This is not possible to be applied.

HqO2: Shortage of manpower at both regional and headquarters levels is one of the serious issues. What has been happening is that no additional manpower has been created. Decentralisation in this case meant transferring some of manpower at headquarters to regions and this has resulted in thinly spreading the available manpower. The idea is very desirable. Conditions and salaries should remain centralised. But, these may follow in future.

HqO3: Inadequate manpower provision in the Ministry should be appreciated, and with the context of government machinery including matters of attractive salary packages. Under the current situation it would, of course, not be possible for individual schools to offer separate / own pay salaries incentives to attract teachers.

CEO1: Schools can not function in a privatised form / style. Presently it is desirable but not practicable.

CEO2: Government works according to set procedures and guidelines. Because there are financial limitations, there are restrictions. If this situation were to be passed to schools and regions it would be even more disastrous. We do need this, but at the moment we cannot practice this.

CEO3: Of late we have noted that inexperienced teachers who are seriously lacking in management skills have taken up most posts of responsibility. This makes the idea not possible due to inexperienced staff. On salaries it is not possible. "Where will they get funds to make this sustainable.

CEO4: Private schools do that. This may not be possible with public schools. There may not be sufficient funds to ensure cash flow for running education let alone offering attractive salaries for teachers. It is not desirable and we cannot practice this.

HS1: Planning for decentralisation should take into consideration human resources and expansion. The idea is very possible if there is proper planning and manpower development. That is when there are new post, prepare people first and deploy them.

HS2: Certain regions should attract teachers by introducing an inducement allowance. Teachers flatly refuse to go to certain areas. Allowance will encourage them to go. The idea is practically possible. There should be recognition of differences in areas.

HJ1: While this might motivate such teachers on the hand measures would have to be put in place to safeguard the interests of the students. The supervisor should be very strong. There should be checkpoints to see whether students benefit. If salaries are treated in this way, this will create problems of inequity.

HJ2: I agree that the rush to fill in vacant posts has had negative effect on quality management and has even affected students' performance. Conditions must be uniform (centre). Therefore this is not possible. Salaries have problems related to scarce skills at the moment, which is created by the centre. Therefore this idea is not possible at the moment.

TS1: Schools are better placed to know who is capable and ready to assume posts of responsibility. We are very ready and as such this is very possible. However, higher salaries at some areas will create a problem of inequity.

TS2: Schools can do that since their decisions will be based on what the person to be promoted has demonstrated and was seen, but at the headquarters, theirs will be based only on recommendations and letters. The people at the site have local knowledge. Things should not be coming as surprise. The creation of attractive salaries will be fine.

TJ1: The issue of salaries will always be there if the government does not do anything positive about it. There are a lot of risks involved in the job, and demands that those teachers should be well paid. The idea above is not desirable especially when it comes to schools determining conditions of service. We cannot have this on salaries and we cannot practice that.

TJ2: This is absolutely true. When it comes to appointments it is the school that knows what is needed. Therefore, it should be the school or the department at the school that should appoint experts. It is very possible on salaries, though we need experienced people to do the job.

PS1: It is a good idea, which is very possible to be practised. There should be higher salaries at rural areas. If in place we will have scheme of service determined by regions.

PJ1: The issue of inexperienced and less knowledgeable staff is questionable especially with regard to heads and heads of departments. Higher salaries are subject to the existing policy. However, most people are now qualified. We can operate in this way, as it is practically possible. Salaries depend on the scales available.



## Scenario: Two

### 7. Funding

Current government funding is not sustainable, money per child is not enough, and special needs cases are not catered for. The funding is highly centralised and this has greater limitations on student expenditure and teachers' salaries. If educators funding is fully decentralised to schools and regions, and skilled finance personnel made available to make decentralisation work, then the budget will be prepared according local and individual needs, and staff recruitment and payment will be determined by the budget status. The regions and schools will learn to raise additional funds according to the local needs by asking the parents to pay for their children education. If parents pay a part of the costs they will have a stake in their children's education and will therefore help to embed decentralisation in the system because will make them take an active interest in their children's education.

#### Comments: Before and During the interviews:

HqO1: Funding is centralised due to limited expertise. To some extent the budget takes account of the local needs. Schools have so far not been able to raise funds to build teachers houses and other facilities. To some extend it is a good idea, and we are heading towards this. But, it is not practicable at the moment.

HqO2: Yes, the current funding is not enough, but comparing to most the countries in Africa, Botswana Education system is well provided for. Yes funding is still centralised, because funds raised at school levels are insufficient. The idea is encouraged. Government should continue to fund the bulk of the money.

HqO3: As already stated, the current Government policy on free education is no longer sustainable. More decentralisation would certainly promote generation of additional revenue from the community level. Again, cost sharing would result in more parents taking keen interest in the education of their children.

CEO1: I do not know what the students or schools are not able to buy as a result of lack of funds. Even now I believe schools must be innovative and should raise funds. Yes, education should be paid for. Parents should pay fees. It is practically possible. We want parents to pay school fees.

CEO2: I think it is too early to rely on fund raising to run schools and regions. If this was to happen I could see schools in rural areas more hard hit. At the moment we should not have this.

CEO3: Cost sharing in education is the in-thing. But regions and schools in Botswana differ drastically in terms of economic powers. There is likely to be a serious imbalance in terms of provision of facilities. Cost sharing is fine. But there is a problem of inequity in regions due to ruralness and urbanness.

CEO4: This idea can fit very well with the presently envisaged cost sharing exercise. I am not too sure about the educators funding. However, if regions could manage the

money contributed by parents then gaps could be closed. The idea is not desirable at the moment. There is need for equity in funding.

HS1: A more appropriate form of funding where parents and government would share the cost of education. This is an ideal situation, which is practically possible for Botswana.

HS2: I agree. This would enhance ownership of the system and cultivate pride in it. There is a lot of dependency. People should feel as part of the system.

HJ1: Funding by government has its own limitations. But, where possible parents should also be made to pay as this will help them to develop interest in their children's education. Cost sharing is very necessary at the moment. They will feel they have a stake.

HJ2: All schools should be government aided, and schools should actually pay the teachers. This enables schools to control teachers. The idea is very much possible and practical. There should be more trained personnel to deal with school finance. At least with a Bachelor of Commerce degree.

TS1: Schools can fund certain activities or programmes. Schools can raise additional funds. This is possible, but not all schools can do that. Headquarters should help them.

TS2: I agree with that, since almost every year the enrolment of each school is rising but funding either maintained or reduced. But, of course schools can generate money to cater for increase in number of students and teachers. This could help. It is possible if there is cost sharing by the community. Disparities will always be there. Government should aid schools with difficulties.

TJ1: If schools had control of their budget, it would help in developing the school at the appropriate time. This is very desirable and can be practised.

TJ2: This is true and realistic. Having it in place, cases of vandalism will disappear and as it is said above there will be more seriousness towards education, as both parties will share the costs. It is possible for schools to raise funds. Schools and regions should do budget. Government should step in to help where possible.

PS1: Yes, it is possible. Government will top up where possible for purpose of equity.

PJ1: Part payment of school fees by parents is acceptable. It may not be possible to raise additional funds, as most parents are not earning a regular salary. Part payment is feasible. Additional fund raising is difficult in this country. It is very difficult to raise funds to meet the budget line.

## *8. Provision (Teachers and Curriculum)*

The curriculum is centrally provided, including raw material (people). Teachers follow prescriptions, and only are allowed to bring in a little creativity. But a partially decentralised curriculum in which there is a centralised framework or set of principles

that teachers have to follow but which they can address as they think appropriate for local conditions enable teacher creativity and meet both central and local demands.

*Comments: Before and During the interviews:*

HqO1: A complex curriculum like what I believe we have needs trained and qualified officers to handle it. We currently do not have them. It is a good idea, but not practicable in the context of Botswana.

HqO2: Yes, curriculum is still centralised but teachers participate in the development of the curriculum. Teachers are encouraged to be creative and innovative. This is what we want. Already this is in place and just needs to be improved.

HqO3: The observation is correct. There is need to strike a balance between, rigid centralised control and flexibility to allow for local tradition and creativity. This way more teachers would be able to meet both central and local demands.

CEO1: This will open chances of some regions and schools not providing education at the required standards. Education will also become difficult. Standards will have to be controlled. Curriculum should remain centralised due to standards.

CEO2: I do not think the system suggested here would prosper with the calibre of teachers in schools today. In addition, this would need strict legislation to ensure that teaching in schools take place. At the moment we are unfortunate because we are at development era. Some teachers take teaching as last resort.

CEO3: This is fine as long as there is availability of qualified personnel in the regions and schools. This idea is fine and practicable.

CEO4: Standards maintenance and monitoring require central assessment. Teachers still can exercise their creativity within the present curriculum. This is desirable and can be practised, but monitoring need to remain centralised.

HS1: Partially decentralised curriculum would be ideal. There should be flexibility at school to leave room for special cases. For example, crop and animal production differences in areas. However, the idea is very possible.

HS2: The diversity of cultures in Botswana calls for a decentralised curriculum provision. We always under estimate teacher proficiency. The idea can not be possible now, but should be there in future.

HJ1: The teaching force is somewhat inexperienced and too young to be involved in such decisions. As for the element of creativity, there is nothing to stop them from being creative within this framework. The idea is not possible because of inexperienced staff. But, in future this may work.

HJ2: I strongly agree with this set up suggested. We need to have a central frame. Everything about creativity is very possible.

TS1: Despite the National curriculum, method of delivery and creativity has not been taken away. Creativity has always been left to the teachers. This is very possible.

TS2: It is correct if teachers' innovation will be allowed to try and make curriculum locally friendly. It is practically possible. This will allow diversity. Some teachers have more knowledge about the area.

TJ1: This is fine and possible. "This is what we want to open for more ideas as teachers".

TJ2: I do agree. "It is easy to present your own statement than to present an interpretation". Right now, teachers do not have a choice towards which textbook to use, all are prescribed and therefore the teachers are being enclosed. The National curriculum must be kept. But, there is need for creativity. Otherwise the idea is very possible.

PS1: It is true, very possible and desirable to give us the stake or share. There could be a regional curriculum committee to deal with curriculum issues.

PJ1: Partial decentralisation on curriculum could also be done with care to avoid some regions being disadvantaged. Partial decentralisation is feasible. However, movement of staff will disadvantage other places due to preferences.

#### *9. Governance (Authority and Decision-making)*

Schools and regions can be empowered through decentralisation mechanisms to deal with school finance, inspections and handle all matters of teacher welfare. So regions would allocate finance to schools and determine teachers work conditions including pay. There will be parents' advisory councils in each region, where parents will be elected on a regional basis, to advise on the allocation of finance and teachers work conditions so that there is equity within regions. In this way the community will have a direct input into educational policy in the region. In the Botswana situation, empowerment of regions, schools and governors would bring services near to the people, provide effective co-ordination, and faster service delivery. It would remove hardships and inconveniences caused by lack of empowerment at regions and schools, referrals, communications, distance, delays, and create room for speedy implementations of government policy.

#### *Comments: Before and During the interviews:*

HqO1: This is the direction we are following although we are still far from there. The expertise in the schools and communities is inadequate. The concept of Board of Governors is not working well so far. We have tried this but we have a problem of quality of people. They are not motivated. We usually have retired people as Board members, but they are not enough.

HqO2: This is what we are moving to. Decentralisation is a phased in project where there is need to psychologically prepare teachers and all the stakeholders. This is very desirable. We develop with time and as such could be practical along the line.

HqO3: The Ministry's on going decentralisation plans are in line with government's policy of getting services nearer to the people. On the other hand, decentralisation calls for more active involvement of the local stakeholders and the community. But decentralisation does not and should not mean a complete breakaway from the centre. Otherwise the system would lose national cohesion and co-ordination.

CEO1: Yes, this is desirable and practicable.

CEO2: The crop of parents we have across the country is not well placed for this. Only in urban areas would this be of any benefit. My experience is that, the Boards of governors' calibre in other places is questionable.

CEO3: Give power to the regions for effective implementation of government policy. I am advocating for more empowerment, as this idea is very possible.

CEO4: Finance is a rather specialised area that requires budgeting. Allocating money to schools is not a big deal, as presently Community Junior Secondary Schools receive grants. Such functions could be decentralised without causing serious problems. That is why I see the above idea desirable and practical.

HS1: Decentralisation should take this form. It is very possible. There are qualified people to make good decisions.

HS2: This will also be in concert with the current international trend on globalisation. It is desirable for global purpose to meet the global standards. It could be practised in the long run but not now.

HJ1: As long as regions have the capacity to handle this it will be fine. At the moment it is not possible to operate in this way. More devolution is needed.

HJ2: The problem is getting parents who are capable to be in the finance committee. Check points to avoid tribalism need to be in place. The idea is not possible at the moment because of lack of qualified personnel.

TS1: That is good, but we must still be answerable to central government. Disparities arise due to unequal footing in terms of resources. Schools and regions should be in the end accountable to the headquarters.

TS2: I agree with the above paragraph, even to reduce slow attendance to teachers and students' or schools' problems because of frustration due to delays in responding by the central headquarters. Differences come from different regions. People at the regions know conditions at the regions.

TJ1: It is true decentralisation should help in providing a faster service. This is very feasible and desirable.

TJ2: This is quite true. Our country is spread and all distances to the capital town are too long and this has a lot of delays, too much expenses and communication break down. However, our communities are not educated enough to make good decision. Communities must be educated first.

PS1: This is true, we are ready to do this provided there is enough consultation.

PJ1: Empowerment and decentralisation is good. But determination of pay for teachers implies more funds needed. The idea is feasible and practicable provided the funding source is available to increase funds.

#### *10. Regulation (Accountability and Control)*

Education in Botswana could be devolved to allow limited competition for student admission where possible. But all students will have the right to go to their local school. School and student performance will rise partly due to competition, where it is possible. School performance will differ, and parents will know the good performing schools. Schools will be more accountable to parents and the community. If schools fail they will have to provide answers to the community and this will community control of education. Regional inspectors and examination results, which will be published, will determine schools' quality. The parents' advisory council will monitor both the reports of the regional inspectors and the examination results.

#### *Comments: Before and During the interviews:*

HqO1: There is no reason why these activities can not be achieved within the status quo. However, decentralisation as planned seems to be leading us there. The above idea is desirable and practicable at the moment.

HqO2: Yes, with devolved education system there is some degree of ownership and a sense of responsibility. This also encourages a spirit of competition. This is desirable and very practical as there is need for regional competition. We are doing that. Parental advisory council exists through Board of governors in schools.

HqO3: Regrettably, the type of decentralisation envisaged here would not work in the Botswana context. There is still need for centralised control given limited access to certain lines of the education system. For example junior secondary education, hence the requirement for transparency in the selection procedures. Otherwise, decentralisation through the regions should promote increased monitoring and evaluation of school performance.

CEO1: I do not know and I have got no comment.

CEO2: Even with the present system parents still labour. Parents have serious desirousness for their children to attend particular schools and this has a share of its problems. Some schools have proved that they may have no children because of unequal opportunities and access. There are many ways of making schools accountable to community such as fee payments.

CEO3: Accountability of schools to local community should be in the forefront of our education policy. I agree with the above idea, it is very possible and practical.

CEO4: Anything that can enhance better performance should be encouraged. Parents' participation has been on the decline lately. PTAs do not perform as expected. We

expect this to happen as said, but it is difficult to practice due to the level of education and quality of the community.

HS1: A limited competition is possible and this will improve performance. Limitations of transport, accommodation etc are a hindrance. This is very possible even though the school locality comes into play.

HS2: I agree with this idea. This would be in the interest of involving all stakeholders in the competition / quest for excellence. Standards would be set at national level and schools will follow. There will be a monitoring body such as the board. This is desirable.

HJ1: There should be no restrictions on which school the parents wish to send their children to. The idea is very possible together with the parents' advisory council.

HJ2: History tells us that some regions are getting education for the first time. This makes competition unfair with other regions. The urban influence on learning will always allow out of flow of bright students. Therefore the idea is not possible. The problem is urban areas will always perform better than rural areas. Parents in urban areas are more education conscious. This can create problems of inequity.

TS1: Ace teachers will be attracted to better paying schools. An examination council is good. Regional boards may only be viable if the curriculum is decentralised. There will be a problem of inequity. The parent advisory council is possible.

TS2: This can be possible if all the schools now have equal catchment areas. But, sometimes this could result in some schools having very low number of students while others have too much. It is practically not possible at the moment. But ideally it is fine.

TJ1: This will help in greater productivity in most schools in terms of results. The idea is very desirable and practical. We are even doing it now.

TJ2: This is quite right as long as we have enough manpower, staffing, facilities and inspectors. It is practically possible. Little competition for admission is very possible. It is even there at the moment.

PS1: This is true. We may have problems with standards variation. But, we still desire to have it this way. Committee can even do the evaluation. School or community can do the planning.

PJ1: Competition between schools and among students is healthy and there could be good results. This is what we want. It is very possible. Competition can work.

### *11. Discipline*

Decentralisation of the Botswana education system ideally could bring discipline strategies closer to places where offences occur. If schools and regions are given authority to handle all students and teachers discipline, then the offenders will know that action could be taken on the spot.

*Comments: Before and During the interviews:*

HqO1: It has been recognised by the Ministry of Education that this is overdue especially the Education Act. Currently this is being addressed by reviewing the Act. This is desirable and we have started the process of achieving this.

HqO2: This to some extent will improve behaviour and conduct of both teachers and students. The idea is desirable and can be practised.

HqO3: The observation is correct, subject to the observance of minimum set of broad policy guidelines at the central level for guidance and consistency purposes.

CEO1: Yes, this is desirable and practical.

CEO2: The intention is that authority to handle all student discipline at regional level to be the norm, and that only appeal is handled at headquarters. For teachers, Acts will have to change before this can be achieved. The idea is taking place. We want it to be more pronounced. It is happening. At schools we have senior teacher pastoral. There must be room for appeal to headquarters.

CEO3: Immediate action should be taken in terms of discipline. But, all the legal procedures should be taken into consideration. This is very possible, Legal instruments, documents, advisors, and Board / committee must be in place.

CEO4: This is perhaps the best approach. Then headquarters would be given copies and summaries of cases handled the regional offices. The idea is desirable, and could be practised. Legal education advisors need to be at the regions to assist in discipline matters.

HS1: This is an ideal situation and practically possible. Trust should be displayed. Schools are now toothless. Disciplinary committees, appeal boards, and legal advisors need to be available at the regions.

HS2: I agree with the above statement. Discipline needs to take place at ground level. There is lack of education on heads regarding discipline cases. Therefore, there should be some training. The idea is desirable. The problem may be the interpretation of the legal instruments.

HJ1: This would also help to monitor and control teacher behaviour because individual teachers would be known "well" by their supervisors. There is need for legal advisors and disciplinary committees / board at the regions. This idea is very possible.

HJ2: This indeed would be good where heads discipline students, and regions discipline teachers. A strong code of conduct is needed. We need this idea but not now. But in future this would be possible.

TS1: We must guard against absolute devolution. It corrupts. The idea is possible, but must be controlled. Maybe parents advisory council can do.



TS2: It is true, and structures could be put in place for discipline to avoid a situation where only one person can discipline. There could be disciplinary committees / boards at the regions. This is possible provided structures (bodies) are in place.

TJ1: This could help deter cases of indiscipline in both students and teachers. This is what we want and it is very practical and possible.

TJ2: If immediate supervisors have powers definitely indiscipline will disappear. It is easy to deal with your problem than to refer it. The idea is very possible and practical.

PS1: This is true. This will empower schools and regions to put things in control. The community must have a hand in discipline. There is need for legal advisor at the regions.

PJ1: This would ensure that offenders do not get away without disciplinary action taken. This is what we want, and it is very practical.

## *12. Human Resources (Manpower)*

A decentralised education system creates effective service delivery, when there is enough availability of qualified, skilled and experienced human resources (manpower). Headquarters, regions and schools have acute manpower shortages. More people are needed to carry out duties, and to facilitate or fully decentralised system. Regions will determine manpower planning.

### *Comments: Before and During the interviews:*

HqO1: The current approach to decentralisation is one of gradual and step by step moves. The idea is desirable, but we can not have full decentralisation because of limited resources.

HqO2: Currently with manpower constraint decentralisation cannot be effective and complete. This idea is very desirable. But it must be resourced. Regions can determine manpower planning, and submit it to headquarters. This can be practised.

HqO3: It goes without saying that effective service delivery would result from effective and well resourced decentralised system. This calls for adequate manpower allocations and other related resources.

CEO1: Manpower is mostly often planned, but shortages are not a result of lack of planning, but mostly welfare packages or the personnel not being available. Packages are not attractive. There is need for more personnel to make this work.

CEO2: Manpower planning is on going. But, I think the country cuts suite according to size. We know our financial status, and we plan according to totality.

CEO3: The issue of manpower provision mainly in the regions is a serious problem. Manpower planning should come to regions to make this possible. Regions would submit quotas to headquarters and get numbers for deployment.

CEO4: This is true. The number of schools and their sizes could determine manpower requirements. This is desirable and could be practised. Regions could send numbers to headquarters and get quotas to deploy. We are moving in that direction.

HS1: Decentralisation will always come with additional human resources and government must be prepared to face the challenges in order to provide quality service. There should be increased manpower to man the regions. Regions should do the planning through estimates.

HS2: I agree. There is need for effective service delivery. There are a lot of bottlenecks due lack of human resources.

HJ1: This would result in decisions being taken at the appropriate time even though it requires a lot of manpower. The system is growing, so, it will take time. The idea is possible if we have enough manpower.

HJ2: Yes, this will help to distribute the quality manpower available. Headquarters should release this duty to regions and schools. Headquarters should give regions the numbers. This is possible and can operate even now. Headquarters is blocking this.

TS1: Good, but it mitigates against equitable sharing of personnel. Experienced regions will get the best, and this will create inequity problem.

TS2: A good point, but looking at remoteness of some areas. We may find that those urban places are at advantage because they would have a choice to get the best manpower available. Manpower allocation should remain centralised.

TJ1: It would be easy to find manpower within a shorter time to deal with cases of shortages of manpower. The idea is very desirable and feasible, especially when new subjects are introduced.

TJ2: True and as I said, as long as departments or schools have powers more than authority all systems designed will work effectively. The region should do the employing. Schools and regions should do quotas and send them to headquarters. After getting numbers from headquarters, then schools and regions can deploy.

PS1: That will be right. Structures will be in place, and we will have advisors and committees. The centre will allocate numbers.

PJ1: Decentralisation would contribute to effective service delivery. A small determined work force would start the process and keep it going while more resources are through normal process. This is possible, and we need determination. Start slowly and in the end will reach the destination.

### **Scenario: Three**

#### ***7. Funding***

The funding of operational budgets and special needs budgets in Botswana should be decentralised to schools. All other funding should remain at the Centre. At the moment,

personnel at the regional and school level are not sufficiently skilled to handle budgets. Teacher and personnel transfer resistance from urban areas to rural areas would be a big problem in the system, if it were fully decentralised, unless some means of attraction through higher rural payments is implemented. But such a policy would create problems of funding and inequity in salaries. To avoid this, funding of staff, teachers and their work conditions to remain centralised. Therefore, the rationale for parents paying fees loses its strength, as the headquarters (centre) will retain considerable financial power. What is devolved to schools via the regions is day to day operation budgets and special needs funding.

Comments: Before and During the interviews:

HqO1: Currently each school is provided with its own funds to handle day to day activities. It is not possible to do that with teachers' salaries now. This is mainly due to lack of resources. But, we will need to keep it centralised.

HqO2: As long as a fair system for equitably distributing resources to all regions and also clear policies, regulations governing deployment and teachers salaries. This will not create problems. It is desirable, but on conditions mentioned above.

HqO3: "No". With continued centralisation of certain aspects of the education system, the rationale for parents paying fees should not lose its strength. Payment of fees by parents should be seen as complementing centralised government funding effort. Presently, in Botswana there is no immediate basis for different regions to have differentiated salary structures. This is due to the present employment and funding arrangements for the education system and teachers employment terms.

CEO1: "I have no comment on this". It doesn't mean I disagree or agree.

CEO2: This situation will remain true and relevant to Botswana for some time to come. We are doing this at the moment, and we want this to continue for some time.

CEO3: Decentralise operational budget to schools, but funding of teachers' salaries to remain centralised with a lot of incentives for those who teach in remote areas. I agree with the above idea and it is very possible. There is need for special treatment for remote area teachers, when looking at the practicality of it.

CEO4: Funds can not be adequately generated at the regional and school levels. However, schools and every level of the hierarchy handle budgetary estimates quite well. Regional offices handle teacher transfer up to senior teacher class 1 level. However, teachers still insist on going to urban areas. What is required is a clear transfer policy. It is not very desirable. Government would have to keep playing a major part. Keep funding centralised.

HS1: Schools have very little say on staffing of schools and therefore productivity levels cannot be easily controlled. Government contribution will always be greater than parent contribution. Government will have more power. The idea is very possible.

HS2: I am for decentralised budget. Uniformity disregards differences. But uniformity is practicable. Therefore the idea is possible.

HJ1: This kind of arrangement would guard against school going bankrupt due to mismanagement of funds. As this would enable the centre to ensure equitable distribution of resources in certain areas. It is possible to operate in this way. Headquarters should remain more in control.

HJ2: "No". School fees should be paid. Remote area allowance should be increased as an incentive for transfers. The region should be given a chance to budget for itself and include all aspects including salaries. The idea is feasible and possible now. Some regions are poorer. There should be some form of central control.

TS1: Decentralisation surely has its pros and cons. It empowers people at school level. Regions and schools are not in equal footing. Regions can always acknowledge where they are unable to fund.

TS2: Relatively true if there is partial decentralisation, owing to the vastness of some schools. This is partially fine. Cost sharing will be fine, but at the moment we still have the central funding for purposes of equity and uniformity.

TJ1: Conditions of service should be favourable to teachers and the government should consider giving teachers in certain areas allowances to encourage them to go and teach there. This is what we want. We need things to motivate teachers. Parents should pay fees. Government should continue with the bulk of funding.

TJ2: But the centre should then have sufficient manpower to quicken things. I still believe that everything should be done at the regions because there will be few files to handle than at the centre. It is not very possible to fund education in this way. But, let there be cost sharing. Government should top up where shortages are.

PS1: Government can still remain as main provider. But, we can raise supplementary funds. At the moment we can not wholly fund education. There is need for cost sharing.

PJ1: Teachers in remote / rural areas should be given incentives in the form of allowances. This is not in equality in salaries. If people are in the country they should be given allowance.

## *8. Provision (Teachers and Curriculum)*

There is need for some forms of decentralisation, but it is too early to decentralise fully the curriculum. The curriculum can be diversified only where necessary to allow schools and teachers to respond to specific local needs. But such initiatives would be limited. Botswana is still developing and need some form of uniformity and equity in the provision. It is possible to decentralise education provision, if infrastructure and qualified personnel are made available. However, the quality of production of teachers has gone down due to expansion, and the headquarters is needed to recruit, train and deploy teachers for purposes of equity and quality, and to avoid haphazard teaching and learning.

Comments: Before and During the interviews:

HqO1: This is the current position. It is very desirable. This is practical now.

HqO2: I agree for the sake of uniformity and consistency. This what we want and we are moving towards that.

HqO3: This statement is entirely correct. Under the present situation Botswana education system cannot go the way of 100% decentralisation. Otherwise, the education system would have no national cohesion and co-ordination. Again this would militate against the need for equity on the educational system, and lack of unified control of standards.

CEO1: Yes, this is desirable and can be practised.

CEO2: While I agree that it is too early to decentralise the curriculum, I do not agree that quality of production of teachers has gone down. The quality of teachers has in fact gone up. Training of teachers is centralised but deployment has been decentralised. Recruitment is coming to regions as well.

CEO3: It is exactly as stated, we should exercise a lot of care in decentralising our education system. I agree with this idea, as it is very possible, desirable and fine.

CEO4: Yes, curriculum cannot be fully decentralised and perhaps should never be. Infrastructure is a basic necessity. Personnel is another. These are key to decentralisation. Expansion has indeed compromised quality in many areas. This is not desirable for purposes of standards, uniformity, and equity.

HS1: This is a more appropriate idea for the present. It is very possible.

HS2: We have reached a state of near adequacy. We are almost ready. This idea is practical now.

HJ1: It is too early to diversify the curriculum, as teacher expertise is still questionable. However, the idea above is desirable. But, at the moment we are still developing.

HJ2: For purposes of examinations, National curriculum, the control is necessary. Mass teacher production must be on the decline now. This idea is not possible for regions. Regions should not frame their own contract. There is need to remain mainly centralised.

TS1: I wholly agree. Not only are we ready, regions can not rely on fees to sustain school programmes. It is very possible to operate in this way.

TS2: One will tend to agree with the above assertion whole-heartedly. But, we will need the National standards and uniformity.

TJ1: The curriculum should be modified, and we should try to include more examples on Botswana situation. The idea is desirable and practical.

TJ2: A change in the curriculum needs carefulness and proper planning. Enough research on the local needs has to be done before an official document could be drafted. There should be a lot of consultation. The government should remain central in the provision to avoid inequity in teaching.

PS1: I agree, because we need some form of uniformity. However, we need some advisors at the regions and schools to work along with us.

PJ1: Uniformity is still needed, especially so, as students write same examinations in the end. Curriculum should remain centralised especially in the core components for the sake of uniformity.

### *9. Governance (Authority and Decision-making)*

Decentralisation processes bring mechanisms of power sharing at the centre, regions, schools, and amongst all stakeholders. However, if decisions are largely by the Centre then resources can be equitably distributed between urban and rural schools. There are human nature tendencies of being hesitant to share power, or loose power. "If I have to share power I cannot control" (Interviewee). Power sharing is possible, but people still believe headquarters can still perform better than schools and regions, and think the headquarters should keep some power on policy matters such as the national curriculum, standards, monitoring and co-ordination. The legal position on authority and decision making is not clear and this contributes to lack of power sharing. Stakeholders at the regional and local level will have representation on school boards and will determine their specific school's policy and allocate the operating budget.

#### *Comments: Before and During the interviews:*

HqO1: Power sharing does not seem to be the issue. What is pertinent is the availability of personnel at all levels to handle the authority and decision making processes. Government still has more power, but we only decentralise duties. Structures are based on power and the legal position. Government must continue to retain power. We are to share power but we still keep power. Instead we delegate.

HqO2: This is one of the main problems delaying decentralisation where people fear shedding some power to regions and local level. However, decentralised system benefits the teachers in most cases. This is desirable. We are fighting the attitude. Power goes with status and kept for recognition. The legal clarity is necessary. Accountability must go along side with power sharing.

HqO3: The present day Botswana context dictates control at the central level continues with devolution of certain roles to the local level. However, this should not be construed as reluctance on the part of the Ministry headquarters to give away some of its powers. This approach takes a realistic view of the limitations of the system as of now.

CEO1: Yes, I agree with the statement. The legal position must be clear.

CEO2: In a developing country there is need for uniform policies and equitable distribution of the limited resources. Accountability remains with the head of the

institution. The legal position will take time. The legal position is not clear, but we are changing it to suit the current situation.

CEO3: This is the current status quo, which needs to change to give more power to the regions. I disagree with the statement. There is need for change. It is true that the legal position is not clear. Power sharing should go with accountability. The legal instruments need to be clear as well.

CEO4: Yes many still believe so. Power devolution is a slow process. Legal position is not clear. This is currently being addressed. The idea is desirable> It is coming slowly. It will be coming in future. Power sharing is a problem. The legal position is a factor. Accountability must follow power sharing.

HS1: Human tendencies such as the above can be removed with training and the centre trusting those at stations. The legal position is true especially that the Education Act is old. The act gives power to top brass. Power sharing must go ahead along with accountability.

HS2: I agree, involvement of all stakeholders would be enhanced. However, we are not ready. But may be considered for the future. The problem is the elitism. But, we are gradually getting there. Ideally this is fine.

HJ1: Power sharing is very necessary if schools are to perform better as this would render them accountable for the students' outcomes. I agree power sharing is very possible. By nature people are hesitant to sharing. The legality of the matter is a problem, especially the constitution.

HJ2: Power sharing is good but we need experience to have it. The experience of the leader and those being led to remove any suspicions. Power is a problem because power corrupts. Complete power corrupts completely. Experienced people are not always available. Accountability purpose is possible but hurdles must be cleared. May be in future this idea can do.

TS1: The big thing is equity in resource sharing. If equity is addressed but not at the expense of regional and / or school constraints, then power sharing should be welcomed. Advisory council could operate. More power should be devolved together with accountability.

TS2: A very good assertion, when looking at the fact that some schools have no powerful and influential boards as others, due to the fact that they have students from almost all parts of the country. And this makes it difficult for the parents who could not make it to those schools. Areas differ. The quality of boards also differs. Some schools have mainly new staff. There are some difficult areas and conditions, and this makes the centre very crucial.

TJ1: Power should be shared. Legal position must be made clear. This is desirable and could be practised.

TJ2: As I said above, to change the curriculum more consultation should be done. To me, having it as it as stated above is fine, but regions should be fully involved for proper

governance. Power shared should go with accountability. Everybody should be accountable if empowered.

PS1: There should be regional bylaws at the regions. Curriculum vitas should be defined especially on funds. There should be a referendum to determine the bylaws' operation.

PJ1: Power sharing through establishment of boards is important. The legal aspects may still require headquarters advice. "Ga go poo pedi mosakeng" (there can't be two bulls in one kraal when it comes to power). There is lack of consultation. People want to do things their own way. Transparency is needed. The legal instruments must be clear. Power sharing must be coupled with accountability. There must pair with decentralisation process.

#### *10. Regulation (Accountability and Control)*

In Botswana, schools and regions are expected to feed the headquarters with information for the modification of policies. The Ministry of Education sets standards of performance and control, and make schools accountable to the headquarters. The issued of competition for admission cannot equitable between urban and rural areas. School locality and possible number of schools are still accountable to headquarters not parents. Closing down schools due to under performance is not possible since in many areas there is only one school. The rural communities lack about education, and prefer schools being accountable to the regions and headquarters. Central and regional inspectors and examination results will determine school quality.

#### *Comments: Before and During the interviews:*

HqO1: To some extent this appear to be the case. This is very desirable and it is what is being practised.

HqO2: One of the reasons of controlling resources at the centre is to ensure that there is uniformity in the use of resources and consistence in policy implementation. I agree with the idea and it can be possible to work this way. It is practical as long as it is national examinations.

HqO3: Refer to previous comments on this matter. Breaking away from the current arrangement could certainly lead to increase in disparities across the country.

CEO1: Yes, this idea is desirable and practicable.

CEO2: Yes, schools are still accountable to government who in turn is accountable to the nation. With the size of the population and meagre finances the opposite might not be appropriate. This is what is happening. At the moment we have to continue with this. We are not ready to change.

CEO3: Schools account to both the regions and headquarters. This is what is happening at the moment. Schools should account to community as well.



CEO4: Schools and regional offices are at the ground level where implementation takes place. Success / failure of policy is easily observed there. Competition for admission exists minimally as some schools poach good students. This idea is desirable and is being practised. We need to have a procedure that is defined. Then, this could be good.

HS1: Expansion in the system will make a centralised system more and more difficult to sustain. Closing of schools is not possible. I wish schools should account to community as they serve the community.

HS2: I agree with the statement. But it is not possible to change now. May be possible in future, as the situation does not allow room for a change. However, it is an ideal thing.

HJ1: Where proper guidance is provided with relevant expertise from stakeholders this would not be a problem. This is very possible and we wish should happen. Schools that are not performing should close down. Expansion has been on for some time. "They should close down!"

HJ2: The last two sentences are true. Accountability is okay but as stated earlier you need the people who know what they are doing in the community. We can not close down schools. At the moment the above is okay. The problem is the standard of education of the community.

TS1: School quality will be best controlled and determined by local communities. Which communities should still adhere to national standards. The idea is possible, but schools can not be closed down.

TS2: On this point, I would rather say all has been said. It is complete as it is. But, rural and urban areas differ, and as such it is not possible to close schools. It is practically not possible at the moment to close schools.

TJ1: If the results are poor, all stakeholders should sit and discuss on how to improve. It is not possible to close schools, but we need to monitor performance.

TJ2: I do agree with this because a National development depends on the National Development Plans. It is not possible to account to communities due to lack of knowledge, about what should happen in education.

PS1: I agree with the statement. For contribution sake, we need a share in decision-making based on accountability.

PJ1: Headquarters involvement is still important with regard to policy issues and guidelines bottom up approach. We still need the centre. We can not be totally independent, unless we privatise. I agree with the statement and I wish for this to continue for a while. "Get people educated enough".

### *11. Discipline*

Decentralisation could enable schools and regions to handle teachers and students discipline cases. The country is wide and the schools are many now. Head office

cannot cope with all the many cases of discipline. But, heads and regional officers are still on the learning curve. Other areas have inexperienced personnel and expertise shortages. The legal implication of handling some cases is beyond the expertise of schools and regions. People are still sceptical about change, and do not trust the changed structure in education. Headquarters will continue to dominate very much on discipline cases.

Comments: Before and During the interviews:

HqO1: This is likely to change in favour of regions and schools in the not-so-distant future. This is desirable as it is already planned. Legal advisors are in the regions, although they are not directly involved in education.

HqO2: Despite that there is still teething problems associated with inexperienced officers at the regions. There are some observable significant benefits to the decentralised systems. This is what we want. Some can be practised. There is need for legal advisors at the regions to support this.

HqO3: It has already been pointed out that increased decentralisation should result in increased local involvement in matters such as discipline cases and personnel empowerment at the decentralised structures. However, this would require that local structures be provided with appropriately qualified staff in order to cope with the increased complexity of issues that should be handled at the local level.

CEO1: Change can not be avoided and where there is no expertise it must be created. Expertise like experience is not inborn. This is desirable and possible if the expertise is available.

CEO2: I think discipline cases for students are now handled at schools and regions, except for expulsion. Teachers discipline needs to be addressed more carefully and cautiously. Teachers' discipline should be treated with care by parents, regions and headquarters. The issue is not expertise. We need training on how to handle discipline cases. We usually investigate cases as a group.

CEO3: Discipline cases should be decentralised to schools and regions. The idea is very possible. There a need for in-service training, documents, legal advisors, and board / committees.

CEO4: Yes, headquarters cannot cope with all discipline cases. Yes we are still learning. Headquarters may continue to dominate but the stand taken is that the law and other statutory instruments be revised to devolve responsibility to schools and regions. The idea is desirable, we need this to be more effective. To follow the same structure as we develop we need legal advisors or desk officers. Headquarters need to decentralise this. This is not practical.

HS1: Decentralisation should proceed gradually to avoid areas where people have had no training. Decentralisation should go with training. There is need for legal expertise advisors. Education people need to change their attitude and accept change (decentralisation).

HS2: Change will always meet with resistance. The time has come for it. Until such a time that training and legal course are in place, it may not be possible. But, it should be possible with private schools. Training and manpower should be in place. May be the legal advisor may help in available.

HJ1: People need to be adequately prepared for this change so that they could take these decisions. We are just about to be ready. There is need for the running of workshops, legal advisors, committees or boards.

HJ2: Yes, headquarters cannot afford to handle all cases. Heads can discipline or even expel students. Regions can do the same on teachers. Given a clear-cut code of conduct. Discipline structures should be in place first. There should be a legal advisor. At the moment it may not be possible if these are not in place.

TS1: Discipline will forever remain a thorny issue. Until and unless staff and student welfare issues are addressed each option will still have to contend in issues. There is need for legal advisors and proper addressing of welfare issues.

TS2: As I have already indicated, mechanisms should be in place at schools. I do not see any problem on this part. Only if disciplinary committees could be created to deal with these matters not individual person. This is very possible provided structures such as committees are in place.

TJ1: Schools should be given a chance to deal with discipline cases locally. This is desirable and feasible. There is need for legal advisors at the regions, and committees in schools. Committees should not be in regions.

TJ2: It is true. When it comes to discipline, supervisors should be knowledgeable and conversant with human rights. But with powers vested, it should be possible to decentralise certain cases to reduce delays. Policies should be changed. It is practicable to change provided power is given to schools and regions.

PS1: "Bring discipline to us". This should be practically possible. This should happen soon.

PJ1: Each case should be looked at separately including legal implications. Advice should be sought as necessary. This could be feasible and practical. There is need for legal advisor. Attorney General's Chambers should be decentralised to provide legal advisors. We should have education legal advisors.

## *12. Human Resources (Manpower)*

Regions and school are still under staffed. The scheme of service is failing to attract experienced and qualified staff, as salaries are not attractive. The manpower shortages differ from region to region and from school to school. There is a virtually accepted belief that, where there are shortages in schools and regions, the centre should take-over the responsibilities for addressing the issue.

Comments: Before and During the interviews:

HqO1: This is the current belief. This is what we want and it is happening.

HqO2: This is the case at monitoring level at schools. This is the reason why posts of Principal Education Officers at secondary level have remained vacant for some time. It is very much desired, but it is bottlenecked by unattractive schemes of service.

HqO3: The present staffing constraints should be seen in the overall context of government machinery or the public service. However, the constraints should not negate the advantages of decentralisation.

CEO1: If the cause of the problem is known, then the cause should be addressed but not to avoid what could be of value. It is desirable if the short falls are attended to.

CEO2: Regarding staffing it is true. The scheme of service is fine and not failing. You can not satisfy human nature particularly on salaries. With shortages it is true, but it is not true that it is headquarters responsibility alone. Some of the things here are correct some are not.

CEO3: The scheme of service should be immediately addressed so as to attract experienced and qualified personnel. It is not necessary for headquarters to deal with shortages. Schools and regions can deal this.

CEO4: Yes, head quarters should take responsibility for employing officers. However, for teachers schools and regions can make a difference. This is desirable and practicable. But regions and schools could do better.

HS1: Staffing in schools / regions should be balanced and decentralised functions equated to staffing. Upgrade posts so that they are attractive. Headquarters should continue to dominate and must continue to supply until the posts / manpower is readily available.

HS2: Decentralisation has been put in motion and should be seen to the end. We are reaching there. It should be possible in future.

HJ1: Heads are now receiving training. They would be needed to be able to handle this aspect effectively. Schools and regions should do recruitment. Where there are deficiencies they should be left to schools. Schools and regions should submit quotas to headquarters. They will then do the final deployment.

HJ2: I agree with almost all here. This is the present. However, change should be allowed and people will learn from experience. Structures, qualified and experienced personnel should be in place. Salaries should be increased.

TS1: Yes, schools and regional offices must address staff supply. They are better placed and it is schools who set yearly curriculum. It is very possible. That is what is happening.

TS2: I agree that there is a need for autonomy with reference to staffing, but it all boils down to inequity when it comes to urban and rural schools. The centre is needed for purposes of equity.

TJ1: Schools should be allowed to employ teachers looking at the shortages they have in the school. This is desirable and could be practised, but we still need the centre.

TJ2: I agree with it if it means looking for manpower from abroad or outside the country. If schools employ / recruit it will be more difficult especially when it comes to foreigners. It is not easy to see the other side of the country for quality staff.

PS1: Government should face the blame if she has not met our estimates. We should face the responsibility if haven't asked for enough numbers.

PJ1: Regions and headquarters should jointly address the issue of shortages to improve situations. Low salaries are a question of policy at higher levels. There should be division of responsibility. The regions must also play a role and initiate moves. Regions should deal with the basics.

**Scenario Choice / Preference**

Which scenario would you think desirable for the Botswana education system? Which scenario do you think is most feasible? OR would you like to describe your own preferred scenario? Please use the space below to describe your own scenario.

**Scenario choice: One / Two / Three / Own (please circle)**

***Scenario One: Choice and further comments.***

HqO2: *Funding*: I like where funding is still controlled by the centre and at some time local levels allowed and encouraged to raise funds to augment what is given from the centre. *Provision*: Currently there is need to equitably distribute teachers who are qualified and experienced to all regions. Is this not decentralisation? There is a danger of regions especially in the remote areas of being starved of teachers and resources if regions have to do recruitment themselves. *Governance (Authority and decision making)*: No comment. *Regulation (Accountability and control)*: Locally it is possible to come up with regulations, which address local needs and peculiarities. *Discipline*: Student and teacher discipline should be decentralised. *Human Resources (Manpower)*: Manpower could be fairly distributed from the centre.

HS2: *Funding*: There should be cost sharing. *Provision*: The curriculum needs to be diversified. *Governance (Authority and decision making)*: There should be ownership sense. *Regulation (Accountability and control)*: It should be enhancing competition and accountability. *Discipline*: People on ground are more informed. *Human Resources (Manpower)*: We are already over staffed. But we need do more in future.

TJ1: No further comment.

TJ2: *Funding*: On funding, this scenario is desirable for Botswana's education system. *Regulation (Accountability and Control)*: Regarding regulation this scenario is the most feasible.

***Scenario Two: Choice and further comments***

CEO3: Scenario one is too radical. Scenario three is what is currently taking place, and needs to be changed, as it is rather conservative.

HS1: No further comments.

HJ1: *Funding*: In this scenario, parents would regard themselves as partners in education and in a way feel obliged to make decisions which need their support. *Provision*: It is still too early to diversify as the country is still grappling with the concept 'globalisation' in which the country has to compete with other nations on quality of education provided. *Governance (Authority and decision making)*: Not all decision-making processes should be taken regionally or at school level. Some should be taken at the centre as complete autonomy might have some destructive consequences. *Regulation (Accountability and control)*: If control and accountability were left to the regions including schools this would help to curb teacher indiscipline as decisions on such cases would not only be based on facts alone, but on the supervisor's knowledge of the individual teacher. *Discipline*: Where this is centralised, justice is often denied because of the bureaucratic procedures to be followed, they tend to be too long and often there is a backlog of such cases. *Human Resources (Manpower)*: Schools understand their needs best and therefore it would be appropriate for them to address their own needs as they so wish.

HJ2: No further comments.

### ***Scenario Three: Choice and further comments***

HqO1: No further comments.

CEO1: *Funding*: Should be shared between government and other stakeholders. Parents should pay for their children's education. *Provision (Teacher and Curriculum)*: The curriculum should continue to be centralised, to ensure quality and equitable standards. *Governance (Authority and decision making)*: Should be shared; the centre left with policy matters and actual running of schools left to the community and regional offices. *Regulation (Accountability and Control)*: Should be left to the centre to ensure equity. *Discipline*: The schools and regional offices should be empowered to speed up justice. *Human Resources (Manpower)*: This should remain as it is. That is continuing with the current practice.

CEO4: No further comments.

TS1: No further comments.

TS2: *Funding*: There should be cost sharing. *Provision (Teacher and Curriculum)*: Provision of teachers, and curricula centralisation is the most feasible since not all schools are funded in the same way and teachers would rather prefer schools in urban rather than rural areas. Looking at facilities in rural schools that teachers are subjected to. *Governance (Authority and decision making)*: Decentralise power sharing to all stakeholders at the centre, regions and schools. *Regulation (Accountability and Control)*: We need the centre for uniformity. *Discipline*: There is need for a regional

disciplinary body. *Human Resources (Manpower)*: This should remain centralised for the sake of equity.

PS1: No further comments.

PJ1: No further comments.

### ***Own Scenario***

#### ***1.Funding***

CEO2: Funding of schools in Botswana seems to encompass the three scenarios. In secondary schools while the bulk of the funds are centralised, communities have come in with reasonable amounts to assist the running of schools.

#### ***8. Provision (Teachers and Curriculum)***

CEO2: The education system is still delicate and needs curriculum provision and teacher provision to continue being centralised.

#### ***3. Governance (Authority and decision making)***

CEO2: It is desirable that substantial authority on governance of schools be decentralised to regions. However, some checks and balances to be maintained to ensure commonality countrywide.

#### ***4. Regulation (accountability and Control)***

CEO2: Acts and Regulations should continue to be centralised but there must be frequent review.

#### ***5. Discipline***

CEO2: Student discipline should continue to be handled at schools and regional levels. Only appeals may be referred to headquarters.

#### ***6. Human Resources (Manpower)***

CEO2: With the present state of affairs it will be unwise to decentralise manpower provision. The imbalances that may occur may be too gustily to centre plate.

### ***Individual comments***

HqO3: In my view it should not be a question of adopting one model or the other. The models or scenarios are not necessarily mutually exclusive as to a large extent. They share certain commonalties. In this respect, I would see the acceptable scenario being one that borrows the strengths and advantages inherent across the descriptions presented in the various scenarios. At the end of the day we would look for a model or a scenario that strikes a judicious balance between the benefits of effective decentralisation and well-thought out policy guidance, standards setting and monitoring at the central level.